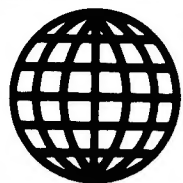


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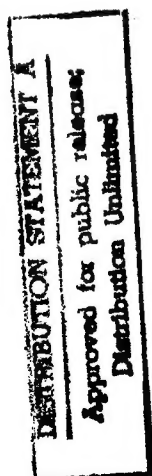


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# ***JPRS Report***

## **East Asia**

***Korea***



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# East Asia

## Korea

JPRS-KAR-88-004

### CONTENTS

12 FEBRUARY 1988

#### INTER-KOREAN

DPRK Rallies Denounce South-U.S. Nuclear War Moves [KCNA, 2 Feb 88]	1
Out-of-Turn Excerpt: Chae Tae-pok Denounces 'Team Spirit' [Pyongyang Domestic Service, 28 Jan 88]	1
ROK Daily Comments on North Korean Threat to South [HANGUK ILBO, 29 Jan 88]	1
North Said Training Terrorists Worldwide [SEOUL SINMUN, 28 Jan 88]	2
KCNA Reports MAC Official's Response [KCNA, 30 Jan 88]	3
Economies of South, North Korea Compared [NEWSREVIEW, 2 Jan 88]	3
KCNA: World Media Support Kim Il-song Proposal [KCNA, 2 Feb 88]	4

#### OLYMPICS

ROK: Sports Minister Outlines Increased Manpower Plans [THE KOREA TIMES, 29 Jan 88]	6
ROK: Olympic Organizers Seek To Set Up 'Sister Cities' [THE KOREA TIMES, 3 Feb 88]	6
ROK To Streamline Entry Procedures During Olympics [THE KOREA HERALD, 3 Feb 88]	6
DPRK: CPRF Says South Plans Crackdown Before Olympics [KCNA, 4 Feb 88]	7

#### SOUTH KOREA

##### POLITICAL

Interview With President-Elect No Tae-u [WOLGAN CHONSON, 1 Feb 88]	8
Chon Tu-hwan Addresses News Conference	15
Discusses Retirement Plans [Seoul Television Service, 29 Jan 88]	15
Answers Reporters Questions [THE KOREA HERALD, 30 Jan 88]	16
PPD's Statement on Election Frauds Reported [CHUNGANG ILBO, 29 Dec 87]	17
RDP, PPD Ideological Dispute Seen Emerging [THE KOREA TIMES, 4 Feb 88]	19
Daily Lauds Democratization of Party Structures [THE KOREA TIMES, 29 Dec 87]	21
Daily on PPD Reorganization Plan [THE KOREA TIMES, 3 Feb 88]	21
DJP Ready for Action on Election Revision [THE KOREA HERALD, 3 Feb 88]	22
Changes Seen for Party Survival [THE KOREA HERALD, 3 Feb 88]	23
Dissidents Set Preconditions Before Entering PPD [THE KOREA TIMES, 30 Jan 88]	25
89 Dissidents To Join PPD, Demand Power Share [THE KOREA TIMES, 2 Feb 88]	26
Reconciliation Panel Gaining Broad Support	26
Called 'Very Useful Forum' [THE KOREA HERALD 2 Feb 88]	26
Begins Kwangju Hearings [THE KOREA TIMES, 2 Feb 88]	28
Council Sees Judicial Autonomy Necessary To Insure Basic Rights [THE KOREA TIMES, 29 Jan 88]	28
Intelligence Agency Ban From Politics Sought [THE KOREA TIMES, 31 Jan 88]	29
ROK: Police Independence Reform Gains Momentum [THE KOREA TIMES, 2 Feb 88]	30
ROK: Police Authorities To Discipline Junior Officers [THE KOREA TIMES, 3 Feb 88]	30

##### ECONOMIC

No Tae-u's Economic Policy Advisors Profiled [MAEIL KYONGJE SINMUN, 24 Nov 87]	31
ROK: DJP, Government Decide to Tighten Money Policy [YONHAP, 3 Feb 88]	33
Current Account Surplus Cushions Country's Economy [NEWSREVIEW, 9 Jan 88]	33
Background Information on Revision of Labor Laws, Key Points of Revision [HYONDAE NOSA, Dec 87]	34

## SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

Chun Urges R&D Investment Hike to 5of GNP [NEWS REVIEW, 19 Dec 87]	40
Domestic Steel Industry Grows to Fifth in World [Yi Chung-kon; MAEIL KYONGJE SINMUN, 12 Nov 87]	41

## FOREIGN RELATIONS, TRADE

Letter to U.S. Ambassador Discusses Trade [CHOSON ILBO, 4 Feb]	42
Piracy Reputation Expected To Be Erased By Revised Copyright Act [NEWSREVIEW, 26 Dec 87]	43
YONHAP: PRC Officials Brief South Korean Businessmen [YONHAP, 3 Feb 88]	45
Daily Hails Warming With Vietnam [CHUNGANG ILBO, 2 Feb 88]	45
Businesses Plan Trade Strategies for East Bloc [YONHAP, 29 Jan 88]	46
New Foreign Trade Agency To Be Formed [YONHAP, 1 Feb 88]	47
ROK Daily on Open, Flexible Foreign Policy [THE KOREA HERALD, 29 Jan 88]	48
ROK Daily Views Country's Warming With East Bloc Countries [TONG-A ILBO, 28 Jan 88]	48

## NORTH KOREA

### POLITICAL

KCNA Kim Il-song Work Reissued in Booklet Form [KCNA, 5 Feb 88]	50
Kim Chong-il Exercises 'Great Leadership' Over Railway [KCNA, 28 Jan 88]	50
NODONG SINMUN Carries Kim Chong-il Talk [KCNA, 15 Jul 87]	51

### ECONOMIC

Construction of Kwangbok Street Speeding Up [KCNA, 4 Feb 88]	59
Tae'an Work System Central To Collectivism [Dr Kim Chae-un; NODONG SIMNUN, 6 Dec 87]	60
Mining Workers Increase Coal Production [KCNA, 2 Feb 88]	62
MINJU CHOSON Warns Japan Not To Follow U.S. 'Rashly' [KCNA, 3 Feb 88]	62

## FOREIGN RELATIONS, TRADE

DPRK Dailies Denounce U.S. Sanctions as Despicable Act [KCNA, 27 Jan 88]	63
Kim Chong-il's Birthday Celebrated Abroad [KCNA, 4 Feb 88]	63

## **DPRK Rallies Denounce South-U.S. Nuclear War Moves**

*SK020606 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0504 GMT 2 Feb 88*

[Text] Pyongyang February 2 (KCNA)—Mass rallies denouncing the nuclear war moves of the U.S. imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique were held on February 1 in Pyongsong city of South Pyongan province, Haeju city of South Hwanghae Province and Kaesong municipality.

The rallies were addressed by leading officials of the provincial (municipal) administration and economic guidance committees and representatives of all circles.

The speakers said that owing to the U.S. imperialists' frantic manoeuvres to convert south Korea into a nuclear base, south Korea has today turned into a nuclear forward base, largest in the far east, where the deployment of various types of nuclear weapons is four times that in the Nato area in its density.

Noting that the U.S. imperialists, wantonly violating the Korean armistice agreement, introduced large quantities of nuclear weapons, they stated that this is not only a grave provocation endangering the armistice in Korea but also a vicious criminal move to trample underfoot our nation's desire and aspiration for peace in the country and its peaceful reunification and plunge the Korean people at any cost into the holocaust of a nuclear war.

The Korean people are not a people to be frightened by any threat or nuclear blackmail of the enemy, the speakers said, and declared: the U.S. imperialists and the south Korean puppet clique must stop at once nuclear war provocation moves and withdraw without delay U.S. troops and nuclear weapons from south Korea in accordance with the unanimous will and demand of the entire Korean people in the north and the south and the world's peaceloving people.

If the U.S. imperialists and the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u group, their stooges, ignoring our just demand, provoke a nuclear war, we will deal a hundred-fold, a thousand-fold counter-blow at the enemy.

## **Out-of-Turn Excerpt: Chae Tae-pok Denounces 'Team Spirit'**

*SK281310 Pyongyang Domestic Service in Korean 1030 GMT 28 Jan 88*

[Speech by Choe Tae-pok, WPK Central Committee secretary at rally to mark the 30th anniversary of the U.S. introduction of nuclear weapons to the Korean peninsula held at the Pyongyang Indoor Stadium on the afternoon of 28 January—recorded]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted]

In particular, upon the arrival of the New Year we put forward a new, epochal proposal on convening a North-South joint conference to discuss and settle such pending issues that face the North and South as halting large-scale military exercises, including the "Team Spirit" joint military exercise, and holding multinational disarmament talks, with a view toward making this year, 1988, a historical year providing a new phase for national reconciliation and unity between the North and South.

However, to date none of the peace proposals we put forward has been realized and grave obstacles are being laid to the path to detente, reconciliation, and national unity with each passing day. The puppets who have madly kicked up a vicious anti-Republic commotion, after fabricating the so-called results of an investigation in connection with a passenger plane incident challenging our proposal on convening a North-South joint conference, have openly declared North-South confrontation by finally announcing, officially, a plan for the "Team Spirit-88" joint military exercise against our Republic at noon today.

This is an intolerable full scale provocation against us by the aggressors and the traitors. We cannot but approach this aggressive and antinational action—a daring act responding to our sincere and serious peace proposal designed to make this a historic year providing a new phase for national reconciliation and unity with a large-scale joint military exercise—with a high degree of hostility [chokkaesim] and a high revolutionary vigilance.

The "Team Spirit-88" joint military exercise by the U.S. imperialists and the South Korean puppets will lead the situation on the Korean peninsula further toward the more dangerous brink of war and drive North-South relations to their worst ever state from which it will be impossible to return.

Under no circumstances will we sit on the sidelines with our arms folded while the situation on the Korean peninsula is being driven into such a serious phase, but will strongly counter the enemy's provocative military movement. [shouts of slogans]

Today, in order to remove the danger of nuclear war in our country and hasten national peace and peaceful reunification, it is imperative to have, before anything else, the U.S. forces withdrawn from South Korea along with their nuclear weapons, and turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free, peace zone.

## **ROK Daily Comments on North Korean Threat to South**

*SK300910 Seoul HANGUK ILBO in Korean 29 Jan 88 p 2*

[Editorial: "O Chin-u's Threat. Let Us Keenly Watch North Korea's Moves"]

[Text] It seems apparent that North Korea has recently become more hysterical, while feeling impatient because it has been put in a fix. Following its bombing of a KAL

passenger aircraft last November, which incurs the wrath of heaven and man, North Korea has entered this year by not only perpetrating more vicious, smear slanders against the South, but also by going so far as to openly and repeatedly threaten it recently.

According to a report, on 27 January, denouncing the results of our side's investigations into the KAL bombing incident, O Chin-u, minister of the people's armed forces of North Korea, branded them as a "fabrication" and threatened that North Korea will answer any provocation by South Korea and the United States with a "thousand-fold retaliation." According to the same report, referring to the current situation on the Korean peninsula, O Chin-u said that "an acute situation which may lead to a nuclear war by a slight accident has been created on the Korean peninsula."

Earlier, on 21 January, "NODONG SINMUN," the organ of the Workers' Party of North Korea, threatened South Korea and the United States, saying that "if pending issues between the North and the South, including the suspension of large-scale military exercises, fail to be resolved, there will be no choice but a war."

Of course, North Korea has also indicated choices other than war. For instance, in its 26 January editorial, "NODONG SINMUN" indicated that "ideological and cultural infiltrations by South Korea have been further strengthened this year; and, in order to live in our own style, the kindred ties and unity of the leader, the party, and the masses should be deepened."

It can be judged that such fretful and impatient moves in North Korea are a reflection of the internal shake and split of North Korea, which have become more apparent on the occasion of the year of the Seoul Olympics. Such fretful and impatient moves also suggest that North Korea's system of power succession currently is faced with a grave crisis and dilemma because of the failure in obstructing the Seoul Olympics and its subsequent international isolation.

Even at this moment, the voices condemning North Korea for its atrocity of bombing the KAL aircraft are increasing in the international community and the number of countries which have taken sanctions against it is increasing. Furthermore, as many as 161 countries have decided to participate in the Seoul Olympics. The Soviet Union, communist China, and many East European socialist countries have decided to send large athletic teams to Seoul. In other words, North Korea's international isolation has been further deepened in the wake of the decision by these communist countries to take part in the Seoul Olympics. Such being the case, the terrorist activity led by Kim Chong-il will not be easy in the future.

Many foreign observers have reportedly talked about the future of North Korea, the kingdom of the senior and junior Kims; some observers say North Korea may

trigger a war, and some others say that an internal riot may take place in North Korea. Foreign observers see that the insane and impatient feelings and attitude among North Korean leaders toward the Seoul Olympics surpass the tension that prevailed at the time of the Rangoon bombing incident in October 1983. They base this on an indication that a situation that does not bode well is now developing in North Korea.

However, the threat of war by North Korean leaders has a limit. In other words, although they can trigger a provocation, North Korean leaders have no more capability than that. As for the possibility of a riot in the North Korean society, as long as the two Kims hold the present power system, such a riot is impossible; it may be possible after Kim Il-song dies.

If North Korean leaders return to reason and if they want to resolve peacefully the present troubles they face at home and abroad, they should seek an open door policy, as Beijing now does.

Our people should possess the consciousness of the master who hosts the festival of peace and reconciliation of mankind. Now that the internal political issues have been settled through the 16 December election, our people should keenly watch with high vigilance for possible terrorism by the North Korean puppets. Today's situation on the Korean peninsula is developing in favor of our side.

**North Said Training Terrorists Worldwide**  
*SK290936 Seoul SEOUL SINMUN in Korean*  
28 Jan 88 p 11

[Text] In addition to training hundreds of thousands of North Koreans specializing in terrorism to disrupt the 1988 Olympics, North Korea reportedly has ensured that 50,000 Chochongnyon members residing in Japan are specifically trained as revolutionary soldiers.

Among these revolutionaries, 25,000 had been trained centrally on operations designed to disrupt the Seoul Olympics directly by North Korea in Pyongyang following the Asian Games in 1986. Crack members selected from among them as agents having the mission of direct infiltration are known to be actively attempting to infiltrate into Korea via such third countries as Japan, Macao, and Hong Kong, according to an analysis conducted by an institution concerned and made public on 27 January.

Apart from those whose mission it is to carry out direct infiltration, those who are assigned to the mission of indirect infiltration are now engaged in such activities as engineering an anti-Olympics atmosphere and an atmosphere of favoring the overthrow of Korea inside Japan.

It is reported that although North Korea had selected 80 Chochongnyon terrorists and directly trained them in Pyongyang with a view toward disrupting the Asian

Games in 1986, their attempt to infiltrate into Korea reportedly has been dashed. According to the analysis, North Korea has established six operation centers to work against the South under the purview of the Chongryon and is now actively attempting to push ahead with its subversive operations aimed at disrupting the 1988 Seoul Olympics, including attacks on and terrorist acts in the South, via third countries, in league with Japan's Red Army and Latin American, European, and Middle East urban guerrillas.

In particular, North Korea has had ties with 65 terrorist organizations in Asia, Europe, Central and South America, the Middle East, and Africa up until 1983 and has trained in North Korea some 6,000 people from 40 countries as international terrorists and guerrilla members up until 1981. Since their return home, North Korea has been agitating them to disrupt the Seoul Olympics by supplying them with weapons and financial support.

Not content with this, after organizing a shock force specifically trained for the purpose of assassinating important South Korean persons and destroying major facilities, North Korea has established on-site overseas branches in such countries as Brazil, the United States, Nicaragua, Sweden, Denmark, Japan, Madagascar, and Angola, and, by organizing mixed teams with the natives in these countries, they are now scheming to have them infiltrate into Korea to disrupt the 1988 Seoul Olympics.

This information is a result of an analysis conducted by a government office that has studied whether or not North Korea, which has been cornered in the wake of the bombing of the Korean Air plane, will continue to maneuver to hamper the Seoul Olympics.

With this in mind, the government has requested through various diplomatic channels and through Interpol that the countries concerned cooperate with our country to prevent terrorist acts.

A government official said: This has proven that, even after the bombing of the Korean Air plane, North Korea has not abandoned its scheme to disrupt the Seoul Olympics. The Coordination Control Headquarters for the security of Olympics, a joint body made up of such security offices as the police, the Army, and the Agency for National Security Planning that deal with communist affairs, are now taking joint measures to deal with this.

#### **KCNA Reports MAC Official's Response**

*SK300459 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0450 GMT 30 Jan 88*

[Text] Kaesong, January 30 (KCNA)—Major General Yi Tae-ho, senior member of our side to the military armistice commission, sent a protest message today to the senior member of the U.S. side in connection with the fact that the latter informed us on January 28 of the plan to stage the aggressive "Team Spirit 88" joint military rehearsal.

The message said:

The "Team Spirit 88" joint military rehearsal is a test nuclear war and a preliminary war for nuclear forestalling attack on us by mobilizing huge armed forces and up-to-date nuclear war means.

This is a wanton violation of the preamble, paragraph 12 and paragraph 13 c and d of the Korean armistice agreement, and an extremely grave crime aggravating the situation and increasing the danger of war in the Korea.

As for your "invitation to watch," it is a crafty trick to cover up the aggressive nature of the "team spirit" joint military rehearsal and a shameless act flouting and insulting us.

Our side sternly protests against the plan of the u.s. imperialists and south Korean puppets to stage the criminal "Team Spirit 88" joint military rehearsal which will lead the situation on the Korean peninsula to the brink of a war, wantonly violating the Korean armistice agreement.

In order to make this year a historic year to provide a new turning point in national reconciliation and unity between the north and the south, we put forward a proposal to convene a north-south joint conference to discuss such pending problems as discontinuing the "Team Spirit" joint military exercise and other large-scale war games and arranging multinational disarmament talks, and are striving for its realisation.

The U.S. imperialists and south Korean puppets, however, turning their faces away from our peaceful proposals, plan to hold the "Team Spirit 88" joint military rehearsal. This is a vicious challenge to us who are making all sincere efforts for hetente and pteaful reunification of the Korean peninsula.

We strongly demand your side to ponder over the grave consequences to be entailed by the "Team Spirit 88" rehearsal and cancel at once the plan of the aggressive military exercise.

#### **Economies of South, North Korea Compared**

*41000014 Seoul NEWSREVIEW in English  
2 Jan 88 p 7*

[Text] The Republic of Korea produces 5.5 times more goods and services than north Korea, and the gap is expected to widen this year, according to statistics.

The statistics compiled by the National Unification Board show that the average annual income of south Koreans surpassed that of north Koreans by 2.7 to 1.

The south Korean economy grew 12.5 percent, compared with the north's 2.1 percent, in 1986.

Foreign trade during that year amounted to \$66.3 billion in the south and \$3.6 in the north.

Despite its economic difficulties, north Korea spent 22.7 percent of its gross national product for military purposes. Military spending in the south constituted 5.1 percent of its GNP.

NUB officials attributed the poor economic performance in the north to its heavy military spending, insufficient capital formation, lack of necessary technologies and its closed economic system.

They then called on north Korea to accept Seoul's proposal for economic exchanges and cooperation between the two sides.

As of the end of 1986, south Korea's yearly GNP stood at \$95.1 billion, 5.5 times higher than the north's \$17.3 billion

Per capita GNP was \$2,296 for south and \$860 for north. The south had a population of about 41.5 million, while the north some 20.1 million.

Military spending amounted to \$4,890 million in the south and \$3,930 million in the north. It means that military burden for each person was \$118 in the south and \$195 in the north.

Comparison of South, North Korea's Economic power (As of Dec 31, 1986)

Item	Unit	South	North	Ratio
Population	1,000 persons	41,570	20,190	2.1:1
Gross National Product	\$ mil.	95,120	17,350	5.5:1
Per capita NGP	\$1	2,296	860	2.7:1
Military Spending	\$ mil.	4,890	3,930	1.2:1
Per capita military spending	\$1	118	195	1:1.7
Military spending share in GNP	percent	5.1	22.7	
Exports	\$ mil.	34,710	1,490	23.3:1
Imports	\$ mil.	31,580	2,110	15:1
Highway	km	1,415	240	5.9:1
Railroad	km	6,324	4,549	1.4:1
Grain production	1,000 tons	6,770	4,830	1.4:1
Rice production	1,000 tons	5,610	2,010	2.8:1
Coal production	1,000 tons	24,250	37,500	1:1.5
Power generation capacity	1,000 kwh	18,060	6,110	3:1
Steel production capacity	1,000 tons	15,840	4,300	3.7:1
Shipbuilding capacity	1,000 tons	3,000	210	14.3:1
Automobile production	1,000 cars	650	20	32.5:1
Daily oil refinery capacity	1,000 barrels	792	70	11.3:1
Cement production	1,000 tons	29,860	9,040	3.3:1
Textile production	1,000 km	6,000	600	10:1
TV set production	1,000 sets	12,480	240	52:1

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# **KCNA: World Media Support Kim Il-song Proposal**

SK021535 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1515 GMT 2 Feb 88

[Text] Pyongyang Febuary 2 (KCNA)—The great leader President Kim Il-song in his new year address proposed to convene a north-south joint conference attended by persons in authority of both sides and the representatives of all the political parties and social organizations and people of all social standings to make the year 1988 a historic year that will provide the opportunity of a new change for national reconciliation and unity. In a month after the announcement of the proposal newspapers, news agencies and radios of more than 100 countries reported articles proving the fairness and significance of the proposal.

The Cuban paper JUVENTUD REBELDE in its article entitled "New prospect of Korea" stressed that the new proposal of reunification put forward by President Kim Il-song opened a new prospect in solving Korea's reunification question as it was made public at a time when the world ardently hopes for the realisation of denuclearization and longs for a peaceful future of mankind. Tass news agency in its article entitled "to promote national reconciliation" said that the new peace-loving proposal of Pyongyang substantiated the consistent efforts of the democratic people's republic of Korea to end confrontation on the Korean peninsula, remove the danger of war from there, achieve a durable peace and promote the cause of national reunification.

In support of the proposal meetings, seminars and lectures and other functions were held in different form and ways in Romania, India, Tanzania, Mali, Denmark, Japan and other countries and documents adopted at meetings of international organisations.

A joint statement adopted at the secretariat of the Afro-Asian writers' association expressed support to the proposal and appeal of the world progressive writers and people to be so active that the proposal may be realised at an early date. Many foreign social organisations, people of political and social standings and international organisations fully supported the proposal through their statements, press statements, press conferences and others. 15 social organisations including the Pakistan federation of trade unions in their joint statement and the

notdic cooperation committee for friendship and solidarity with the corean people in its statement appealed to the world peace- loving people to put pressure to the south Korean puppet clique to accept the proposal.

The French institute for national independence and non-alignment in its statement adopted at its special general meeting fully supported the proposal put forward by president Kim Il-song saying this reunification proposal is one positively contributable to the cause of world peace.

**ROK: Sports Minister Outlines Increased Manpower Plans**

SK290335 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 29 Jan 88 p 12

[Text] The government plans to expand the secretariat of the National Sports Promotion Fund (NSPF) and entrust the organization with the financial affairs for the entire mass sports programs and the control and disposal of equipment used during the Seoul Olympic Games.

In his report to president-elect No Tae-u, Sports Minister Cho Sang-ho said that the manpower at the NSPF's secretariat will be drastically increased from the current 15 to 300 by the end of this year for the smooth operation of the proposed programs.

The National Sports Promotion Fund, which was inaugurated in 1972 as a self-controlled but government-affiliated body, will strengthen its financial arm from the now 30 billion won to 300 billion won in the coming years, according to the minister's report.

Part of the necessary fund will accrue from disposal of a large amount of equipment and gear that can be set for sale after the Olympic Games.

NSPF will be in charge of the control and management of the Olympic sports facilities after the games and make use of them for sports, leisure and cultural activities for the people.

Minister Cho reported that for employment of Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee [SLOOC] staff members after the games to various government-invested organizations and other social organizations, an employment securement committee headed by the premier will be set up.

In details, 730 SLOOC officials will be employed at 84 government invested companies on the basis of their wishes, while 320 government officials and 171 company employees who have been dispatched from their companies to help the SLOOC with Olympic preparations will return to their previous agencies and companies after Olympic Games end.

The top sports administrator reported that 333 local athletes in 19 sports will be dispatched to foreign countries for special tune-up training abroad in preparation for the Seoul Olympics, while 35 talented foreign coaches in 15 sports will be invited here for coaching national athletes.

**ROK: Olympic Organizers Seek To Set Up 'Sister Cities'**

SK030227 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 3 Feb 88 p 12

[Text] The Seoul Olympic organizers are mulling over a plan to help local organizations set up sisterhood relationships with competing nations from across the world before and during the Seoul Olympic Games.

An official at the organizing committee said yesterday that every competing nation, if it wants, could be arranged with a sisterhood relationship with Korean companies, schools and civil organizations under the projected plan.

"We have already initiated a draft plan on the basis of the Olympic spirit represented by 'peace' and 'harmony' and put it on the consultation agenda with the National Olympic Supporting Committee and pertinent authorities," an organizer said.

The plan, one finalized, will allow local sisterhood partners to greet their foreign counterparts at airports, to cheer them during competitions and to visit the Athletes' Village on a friendly basis.

The foreign partners will also be led on local tours under the sponsorship of their Korean friends during the off-competition days.

The organizing committee put a similar plan into action during the 10th Seoul Asian Games two years ago, but yielded few substantial fruits after the games.

"But this time, the organizing committee will put top priority on ways to keep their friendly relationships even after the Games, thereby producing palpable results between the partners," the official added.

**ROK To Streamline Entry Procedures During Olympics**

SK030331 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 3 Feb 88 p 11

[Text] The entry procedures for the official participants in the Seoul Olympics this September will be drastically streamlined, the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee [SLOOC] said yesterday.

SLOOC said that it plans to install 10 additional customs and immigration counters at Kimpo International Airport for exclusive use by the estimated 36,000 Olympic Family members so that they can pass through the legal entry procedures as fast and conveniently as possible.

It was earlier reported that all the Olympic Family members, which usually refer to the Games participants, highplaced officials of the Olympic-related international organizations and the accredited media personnel, will be allowed to enter and stay in Korea without entry visas by using their accreditation cards.

SLOOC officials said that those Olympic Family members will be grouped into four categories according to their statuses and will be given different protocol treatments.

The first group, called the Very Important Persons (VIPS) includes the 93 members of the International Olympic Committee, presidents of the 27 International Federations, heads of 160 National Olympic Committees and ranking government officials higher than cabinet ministers.

The estimated 1,300 VIPS may use the VIP rooms at Kimpo Airport and each of them can be accompanied by their wives and one attendant.

The second group will comprise such B Card holders as the IFS technical delegates and members of the IOC's various commissions; the third group members of the participating teams; and the fourth group media corps and the participants in the Youth Camp.

SLOOC officials said that the Airport Reception Headquarters will be formed in March at Kimpo Airport to deal with the entry procedures for the incoming Olympic family members.

About 400 people per day are expected to come to Seoul beginning Aug. 2 with the figure being increased to about 4,000 per day in one to two days prior to the Games opening on Sept. 17, SLOOC officials said.

The officials also said Japan's Prime Minister Noboru Takeshita, Princess Anne of Britain and a few others are expected to arrive in Seoul two to three days before the opening day while IOC officials, including its president Juan Antonio Samaranch, and IFS officials around Sept. 9 in time for the various IOC meetings, scheduled to start on Sept. 10.

Meanwhile, SLOOC officials said that some sporting equipment brought by the competitors, including shooting weapons and javelins, will not be allowed into the Athletes' Village.

But arrows, bows and fencing swords may be stored in the Athletes' Village, according to the officials.

## **DPRK: CPRF Says South Plans Crackdown Before Olympics**

*SK041018 Pyongyang KCNA in English  
1011 GMT 4 Feb 88*

[Text] Pyongyang February 4 (KCNA)—The secretariat of the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland released information no. 434 on February 3, denouncing the Chon Tu-hwan-No Tae-u clique for planning a wholesale crackdown before the "Seoul Olympics."

The information says:

The military fascist clique organized an "Olympic guard command" at the puppet police headquarters and "Olympic planning teams" at 13 provincial and city police bureaux and decided to attach 30,000 local police additionally to the "security coordination and control headquarters of the olympic organizing committee" by the end of march. It also plans to set up a 60,000-strong "army-police joint Olympic guard" and a "guard headquarters" of three "Olympic guards" in May.

The puppet clique plans to increase the police by 10,000 men this year. It instituted civilian subsidiary to police and is recruiting more than 800,000 civilians.

The clique spent a huge amount of funds introducing up-to-date electronic police commanding systems in Seoul and other major cities, equipping large stadiums and theatres with television supervisory networks and installing treble electronic detection wire entanglements around hotels and sports villages. It set up "special investigation rooms" to interrogate "criminals" at all police bureaux and stations.

The south Korean puppet clique imported some 118,000 pieces of police repressive equipment in about 130 types from the United States, Japan and other countries and installed x-ray detectors and dogs to discover explosives at the airport and harbours.

The Chon-No group's moves to hold the Olympic games in a sabre-rattling atmosphere after covering south Korea with horrible police networks only indicate the last-ditch efforts of those upset by the strong action of the people against the military dictatorship.

The south Korean puppets' continuous fascist suppression under the pretext of the Olympics fully proves that the "commitments to democracy" and "democracy and concord" on their lips are sham and deceptive.

## POLITICAL

**Interview With President-Elect No Tae-u**  
*SK031101 Seoul WOLGAN CHOSON in Korean*  
*1 Feb 88 pp 142-157*

[Interview with President-elect No Tae-u by Yu Chong-hyon, director of the WOLGAN CHOSON Department of CHOSON ILBO, at the DJP presidential office in Seoul on 16 January] [Text] Solving the Aftermath of the Election from the Viewpoint of Reconciliation [subhead]

An interview with President-Elect No Tae-u was finally held on 16 January shortly before the time limit for copies after repeated postponement due to his busy schedule. Coincidentally, it was the day when talks between President-elect No and New Democratic Republican Party [NDRP] President Kim Chong-pil were scheduled to be held. As usual, he was busy with his tight schedule.

At 11 am, an hour before the talks with President Kim, I met President-elect No at the DJP presidential office on the fifth floor of the DJP headquarters. President-elect No was talking with lawmaker Chae Mun-sik, the new DJP chairman, when I visited his office. Upon receiving congratulations on his victory in the election, he said "I will do my best."

[Yu Chong-hyon] It seems that your activities since the end of the election, which have been reported by newspapers and broadcasters, are very affirmatively accessible to the people. Many people show favorable feelings toward you, saying with expectation that "now it appears that genuine democracy is being practiced." Just as some people make blunders in a "real game" though they have done well during "rehearsals"; however, we are worried about whether you will manage state affairs well after inauguration.

[No Tae-u] What I think at this moment is that because I have many competent people, I will work hard with their assistance. I hope the press will also give me good advice.

[Yu] Almost 10 minutes passed while we talked about the bombing of the Korean Airliner, of which the investigation results were announced on the previous day. President-elect No had to leave for the National Assembly building in order to arrive there on time for the scheduled talks. Because of insufficient time, I had no other way but to conduct a written interview.

The following are the contents of the written interview with him:

[Yu] There were more than just a few aftereffects of the election because it was the first held under the direct presidential election system in 16 years. Are you mapping out any concrete measures to remedy the aftereffects of the direct election, such as aggravated regionalism, and develop the country into a democratic society?

[No] I think it regrettable that the election, which should have served as a forum for national concord, seemed to result in causing national discord and expanding conflict. However, this conflict must be overcome without fail and the aftereffects of the election must be remedied as early as possible. Only then will it be feasible to develop the nation into a society of national reconciliation, which all people desire, and to usher in an advanced country. Because I was solicitous over this situation after the election and I deeply thought of the future of the country, I made public, at the final stage of the election campaign, the "conception for a new era of democratic reconciliation" designed to achieve democratic development and national harmony. According to this commitment, I hurriedly accelerated preparations to achieve this goal shortly after the election and launched the "Council for Promoting Democracy and Reconciliation [CPDR]" which includes representatives of all walks of life.

I expect the CPDR to present good solutions by freely and broadly discussing and studying all pending issues—such as democratic development, national reconciliation, and social reforms—reflecting public opinion. I intend to actively accept and realize all opinions and advice to be presented by the CPDR to seek to develop the country into a mature democratic society.

Democratization of Power Is an Important Key [subhead]

[Yu] Will you talk about the basic direction of the management of state affairs? Many people still doubt the will to realize the 29 June declaration.

[No] I intend to pool all forces and opinions to firmly embody and sincerely realize national reconciliation. It is believed that only then can localism be alleviated, the emotional knot of the Kwangju incident be disentangled, and conflict between strata and between generations be mitigated. To this end, the CPDR will indicate the basic direction for the management of state affairs, which a new republic will seek, and present tasks it should discharge by gathering public opinion from all walks of life. I intend to reflect views and ways to be presented by the council and and to carry them into practice on a step-by-step basis. Along with this, I am steadily realizing the 29 June declaration. If there is anything that has been insufficiently carried into effect, I will supplement it and double efforts to realize the declaration even by accepting the demands of the opposition parties.

[Yu] Would you discuss the basic direction for the promotion of democratization?

[No] First of all, I think it very significant that CHOSON ILBO has put forth a "society led by democratic citizens" as this year's theme. I remember that I attentively read its New Year editorial entitled "When Citizens Are Democratized, Power Practices Democracy" and particularly, the phrase reading "democracy is not something like benefaction, but should be achieved by citizens for themselves." That is true. The essence of democratization is "democratization of power" and "democratization of citizens"—an important key to the political development of the country. Therefore, I plan to dynamically push ahead with eradicating authoritarianism and decentralizing power. Also, I intend to embody the "politics of coexistence" by scratching off the logic of monopoly and by managing state affairs in a suprapartisan way. Along with this, I will voluntarily play the role of a bridge leading to civilian politics, realize it, and actively develop the party into a democratic party. At the same time, I will expand the scope of the people's political participation by enforcing the local autonomy system for their democratization and increase their democratic capabilities by securing their rights. Furthermore, I will make efforts to create social circumstances and conditions, in which the people can display the consciousness of being masters by fulfilling their duties and by exercising their rights, through reliably guaranteeing the rights of individual citizens and promoting basic human rights.

Listening to Those Involved in the Kwangju Incident  
[subhead]

[Yu] In my view President-elect No should preferentially solve the problem concerning the Kwangju incident. Would you discuss ways to solve the problem?

[No] As I have mentioned on many occasions, the Kwangju incident is the great pain of our people as well as of Kwangju citizens. I believe that the problem should be solved from the viewpoint of pardoning and reconciling with each other. When the CPDR presents concrete ways for solving the problem by collecting opinions from those directly involved in the incident, Kwangju citizens, and people of all walks of life, I will follow and carry them into practice. Since those directly involved in the Kwangju incident are also taking part in the council, I expect that good ways reflecting their opinions will be explored.

[Yu] In addition, there are some people who do not believe that the truth of the 12 December incident has been completely brought to light. In particular, the opposition parties demanded during the election campaign period and have demanded since then that there must be a manifest clarification of the truth of the 12 December incident. Can't you reveal the truth of the 12 December incident before the people for an accurate historical record?

[No] As far as that question is concerned, everything was clarified at a "panel discussion at the Kwanhun Club" on 12 November. I believe that history will ultimately evaluate it. "Big Brother" Policy Will Be Implemented Toward North Korea [subhead]

[Yu] You, President-elect No, many times during your election campaign expressed the intention to reinvestigate the suspicious incidents and irregularities of the Fifth Republic. How are you going to deal with suspicious incidents and irregularities of the Fifth Republic including the incidents of Chang Yong-cha-Yi Chol, the Pomyang Shipping Company, and the operation of the Headquarters of the Saemaoul Movement? Do you intend to investigate the figures close to President Chon Tu-hwan and his relatives? What cases do you think are worth investigation?

[No] I think that the investigation should be conducted again if new facts in the so-called large-scale incidents of the past are found.

[Yu] Do you have any plan to make public the data and material of the investigations of irregularities committed during the Fifth Republic?

[No] I think that the detailed contents have already been made known to the world through various mass media in the past. In any event, I have no intention of concealing the truth.

[Yu] Please tell us about the basic direction in foreign policy, in particular, the North-South issues and northward diplomacy.

[No] Before answering these questions, I would like to point out that we should now change our consciousness of international politics and external relations. Today our Republic of Korea is no longer a desolate state which is being dragged in here and there by neighboring countries or big powers. Our country is now taking its root as one of the central states in the international community. I think we should now become a good member of the international community while maintaining an "open democracy." Based on this, we should deepen the existing friendship and cooperative relations with our allies including the United States and Japan. However, we should broaden the scale of understanding and cooperation with unity based on equal positions and stances.

We should also implement the policy toward North Korea and the issue of reunification positively and in a forward-moving manner. Thus, I think that I might as well apply the "big brother policy" that West Germany is implementing toward East Germany to our own situation. We may take the attitude of accepting and tolerating the minor problems committed by North Korea while teaching it strictly what is necessary even to the point of moving it to tears.

Proceeding from this stance, I will positively push ahead with national reunification by resuming the North-South dialogue based on the principles of peace, democracy, and independence. I will create the foundation for peaceful reunification without fail during my term of office. I believe that the direction of North-South dialogue and reunification policy which we should implement is to actively push ahead with mutual exchanges between the North and the South based on the success of the Seoul Olympics, on national strength superior to that of the North, and on a sense of confidence.

The next task is to relax tension on the Korean peninsula and to attain durable peace by concluding a "provisional agreement on the basic relations between the North and the South" including a nonaggression agreement. I will strive to expand the exchanges and cooperation between the North and the South in all the economic, social, cultural, sports, science, technological, educational, and art domains and to form and operate a common body for North-South cooperation by regularly holding North-South cabinet meetings. Thus, I will expand peaceful exchanges and cooperation between North and South Korea.

I think that a unified democratic republic should be established in accordance with a unified constitution formulated on the basis of the fair, free, and democratic will of the citizens of the North and the South and on the homogeneous nature of the people recovered through mutual trust and cooperation.

I will exert all my efforts to achieve the peaceful reunification of the nation. I intend to develop and supplement the measures for reunification according to the advice of the experts in this field and according to the common will of the people.

In the meantime, the policy toward the North that I will pursue can be summarized in three stages. In the first stage, we will promote exchanges in such nonpolitical and noneconomic fields as culture and sports; in the second, we will increase economic exchange and cooperation; and in the third, we will establish political and diplomatic relations. In this way, I believe we can ultimately establish friendly and neighborly relations not only with the Soviet Union and Communist China, but also with East European countries. I am also convinced that the Seoul Olympics scheduled for this year will bring to flower our diplomatic efforts in various forms that we have exerted with regard to the communist bloc and it will also create a significant turning point in our policy toward the North.

**Security-related Issues Should be Tackled with Suprapartisan Efforts [subhead]**

[Yu] Would you please tell us your idea about improving relations with Communist China and economic cooperation?

[No] In a geopolitical and historical point of view, nobody can deny the fact that our country has a very close relationship with the PRC [as published]. In addition, we have had experiences of having successfully settled various negotiations, large and small, with the PRC, including economic and sports exchanges. This being the case, if our two countries begin exchanges in sectors that merit mutual cooperation, on a routine basis, I believe that relations between the two countries can be improved faster than expected. At any rate, after the Seoul Olympics the issue of normalizing relations between the two countries will emerge as something natural and I am convinced that it will result in creating something good for both sides, whatever form it may take. However, since diplomatic relations are conditioned on the two sides, they must be promoted deliberately and reasonably after taking into consideration all factors and, therefore, it is imperative not to jump to rash conclusions.

[Yu] According to a poll, what our people fear most is an extreme standoff between the rival parties. Many say that the opposition's extreme form of struggle should be discontinued along with the ruling party's political maneuvering style based on a combat conception. Could you outline what you would do to turn relations between the rival parties into favorable ones?

[No] It is true that to date the relations between the rival parties have been, from start to finish, driven by struggle and standoff, an expression of an "all or nothing" perception. Now, I think, is the time when the rival parties should open a new horizon for their mutual relations to stay in step with the dictates of the times—democracy and reconciliation. The rival parties should redefine their relationship to make it a relationship of good natured competition and a genuine partnership needed to discuss state affairs rather than the relationship of struggle and standoff. Only in this way can political stability, something that is crucial to national development, be achieved.

I will do my best to create an epochal change in relations between the rival parties. In particular, I intend to see to it that the opposition leaders are often briefed on such things as national security, diplomatic developments, and other state affairs. I also intend to have a large number of opposition leaders participate in the meeting of the senior statesmen's advisory council so that they can make their good opinions available, making efforts to reflect their opinions in running state affairs by meeting with them as often as possible. I find it desirable to continue discussing with them suprapartisan measures concerning the Olympics and national security affairs.

[Yu] Do you have a comment on what must be done to establish a desirable relationship between the National Assembly and the government in the era of moving toward democratization and to render the National Assembly more active in order to realize this goal?

[No] The new Constitution has substantially strengthened the power of the National Assembly by stripping the president of his right to dissolve the National Assembly and by keeping the National Assembly's right to impeach cabinet ministers in place. I believe that making parliamentary democracy become stable by enlivening party politics is a short cut to embodying a new era of democratic development and new politics. So, I plan to run state affairs based on the principle of checks and balances in a way that keeps relations between the administration and the National Assembly moving smoothly. Moreover, since I had earlier promised that I would play the role of a stepping stone toward a civilian-run government, I will respect the National Assembly, the forum of the people. I also plan to listen to public voices and make my opinion understood at the National Assembly as often as possible.

[Yu] Would you discuss your plan to set relations with the opposition parties? Some people say that you can hold party membership, but you should transfer the party presidency to another person and coordinate state affairs from an unbiased standpoint.

[No] It should be understood that the question of managing overall state affairs in a suprapartisan manner, which I have emphasized, is different from the question of whether I hold the presidency of the ruling party or not. I am of the opinion that suprapartisan management of state affairs can be embodied through the eradication of authoritarianism, the decentralization of power, the recruitment of capable men, the reestablishment of partnership and good natured rivalry between the ruling and opposition parties while realizing the opposition parties' participation in managing state affairs, and the promotion of autonomy in all social fields. Because I have entrusted the new chairman of our party with party affairs and other political affairs, I am convinced that he will take the initiative to lead the work of attaining victory in the forthcoming 13th general elections and discharging important tasks for intraparty democratization and national reconciliation.

[Yu] Will you permit cross voting and other autonomous judgments by the ruling party's lawmakers?

[No] As I have told you, I have left the authority and responsibility for dealing with general political affairs, including party affairs, to our party's new chairman. In particular, I have asked him to make efforts to manage party affairs so that the party can be enhanced and intraparty democracy can be vitalized. Therefore, I expect that the question of cross voting will be solved by pooling the general opinions of our party's lawmakers.

Constant Adherence to the 29 June Declaration [sub-head]

[Yu] Some people contend that the right to nominate parliamentary candidates should be exercised in a democratic way as intraparty democratization proceeds, not

in a way where those in the upper echelons exclusively decide nominees. How will you exercise the right of nomination? Would you discuss the rumor about President Chon Tu-hwan's involvement in nominating parliamentary candidates?

[No] To prepare for the 13th general elections, our party has openly received applications for candidacy. Therefore, the party's candidacy screening committee will examine applications in accordance with the most fair and objective criteria and procedures without any interference, while watching progress in negotiations over the election law, and then decide our party's candidates. Along with efforts to enforce the free competition system, the nomination system will be improved and supplemented for the democratization of the party.

[Yu] Would you discuss the criteria that will affect nominating military retirees? There is a possibility that if those figures who are fingered as politics-oriented soldiers or as chief culprits of military rebellions by the RDP and the PPD [Party for Peace and Democracy] are nominated as parliamentary candidates, arguments over the extension of the military rule will follow. Would you discuss this question?

[No] Our party's nomination of candidates will be conducted under fair criteria and procedures that everyone can accept. In particular, our party will fill, reinvigorate, and strengthen the party with younger persons and show its different traits by initiating fresh and capable figures who are able to actively realize the will of a new era of democracy and reconciliation and to speak for the people's interests and opinions in stride with them.

[Yu] The opposition parties contended that the television stations perpetrated fundamental election frauds through their "biased news reports in terms of content." Do you have any way to make television, which most greatly affects modern election campaigns, neutral in the forthcoming parliamentary elections?

[No] In what election campaigns in the past were opposition forces able to show up on television screens and indiscriminately attack the ruling party and make personal invectives using crude terms? I will continue to adhere to the spirit of the 29 June declaration clarifying that "The government cannot grasp the press nor should it try to do." If there still exists any device or practice for interference and regulation that runs counter to unbiased news reporting in the mass media, I will obviously rectify it. I believe that prior to improving and supplementing the system, those involved in the mass media will autonomously make efforts to enjoy trust and love among the people.

[Yu] Would you discuss what steps you will take if the DJP fails to obtain the majority of assembly seats?

[No] I think that even under the presidential constitutional system, the effective politics of democracy and harmony can be faithfully practised through the assembly, the main stage of politics, only when the ruling party secures a stable number of floor seats. I am convinced that the people's aspirations for achieving the genuine democratic development of the country through the embodiment of parliamentary democracy along with the vitalization of party-oriented politics will be realized through the people's wise judgment.

Electing 1-4 Lawmakers in One Constituency and Holding Elections in February Are the DJP's Formula [sub-head]

[Yu] Would you discuss your views on the question concerning electoral districts and the timing of the general elections?

[No] Since the parliamentary election law is a basis for realizing new politics in a new era, I think it a principle that as in negotiations over constitutional revision, the matters concerning electoral constituencies, the timing of the elections, and the number of lawmakers should be solved by agreement between the ruling and opposition parties. To this end, I intend to fully follow the decisions agreed upon between the representatives of the ruling and opposition parties at their formal negotiations through multifaceted channels. I expect that if the ruling and opposition parties wholeheartedly discuss the pending issue with the national viewpoint in mind, transcending differences in any individual and factional interests, concrete progress will be made sooner or later. In connection with the timing of the general elections, I think it desirable to hold them in the middle of February because forming a new National Assembly before a new government is inaugurated is a reasonable order and the people's wish. Since electing 1-4 lawmakers in one constituency makes sense in view of the present political situation, we adopt this as our party's formula.

[Yu] What do you think of the historical significance of the forthcoming 13th parliamentary election?

[No] I think that the result of the presidential election was the wise judgment and determination of the people who chose "development of the country without chaos" and "reform amid stability," and the forthcoming 13th general elections will be of significance in that on this basis, the spirit of a new era—democracy and reconciliation—will be further solidified through parliamentary politics. I expect the people to enable our party to surely secure a stable majority of floor seats so that it can dynamically push ahead with democratization and the prosperity of the fatherland.

[Yu] It is judged that with the last presidential election as an occasion, our country has now reached the stage where it should unfold a new political culture. Would you discuss what plan, if any, you have to render

political assistance to create a new political culture concerning the organization of political parties, political funds, and the freedom of activities of political parties?

[No] I believe that the vitalization of party-based politics is the outset and precondition of parliamentary politics. Proceeding from this view, I stressed, in the 29 June declaration, that "a new political atmosphere of dialogue and compromise should be created along with guaranteeing the sound activities of political parties." Therefore, political parties should be democratic organizations that formulate and reflect the people's political views by presenting responsible assertions for the people's welfare and by pushing ahead with them. As long as political parties conduct sound activities that do not run counter to this principle, the state will do its best to protect and develop them. I think that if there are any matters for discussion and consultation, the ruling and opposition parties can discuss them and find good systems and methods through negotiations.

[Yu] People expect that the new government will be different from the Fifth Republic in various ways. They are particularly interested in the plan you might have in mind concerning the selection of people to appoint to cabinet posts such as prime minister. What qualifications do you have in mind for selecting the prime minister? And what kind of people will you select as cabinet ministers?

[No] First of all, let me emphasize once again that I will rule out anything that might be interpreted as being impartial and unfair when it comes to selecting the prime minister or cabinet ministers. In other words, I am clearly against selecting people on the basis of their personal connections or circumstances. So, my plan is to boldly select people from all sectors of society, taking into consideration their ability and the trust people have in them, casting aside such things as political parties, provinces, sexes, and generations. I believe there are many yardsticks in our society to measure ability and the public trust people enjoy. In this context, is the mass media not a wonderful yardstick? I would like you to introduce and recommend wonderful people. If they are in fact wonderful people, I will not hesitate visiting them as many times as necessary until they are persuaded.

[Yu] Are you not inclined to drastically expand the prime minister's power by delegating a large part of your authority to him and by lightening your own heavy workload? If you are, please tell us your views on this.

[No] The president, I believe, should go deeper among the people to understand what they want and to reflect their opinion in running state affairs without distortion. This is why I promised that I would play the role of a mobile Chongwadae. Toward this end, I plan to see to it that the offices of the prime minister and cabinet ministers fulfill their functions and allow the cabinet to carry out the general affairs of state as much as possible in

order to heighten the effectiveness of the administration. How to do this is being mapped out by a committee formed to prepare for the presidential inauguration.

[Yu] Would you please tell us how you will run the office of secretaries to the president and what particular plan you might have to keep the so-called human wall from being formed around the president?

[No] Given the intrinsic character of a government led by a president, it is undeniable that to date Chongwadae has appeared to have run every single aspect of the affairs of state. However, from now on the function of the office of secretaries to the president should be confined only to correctly grasping public opinion and to faithfully communicating voices from below to the president—the role of a channel of public opinion. By charging the prime minister and cabinet ministers with a larger part of authority and responsibility for the general affairs of state, I think I can devote myself to charting a correct political course for such important state affairs as national reconciliation. I will do this by going deeper among the people to listen to their unfiltered opinion. Therefore, I would allow a human wall made up of common people to surround me, not the one that is made up of a few trusted people. I will try to keep away from such things as self-righteousness and egotism or being unfair in formulating major policies.

[Yu] In addition, you, President-elect No, gave a promised that you would keep Chongwadae open to the public. Do you mean to allow common people free entrance into Chongwadae? Also, do you have a detailed plan to allow the common people to meet you, that is, as president, person to person?

[No] Do you still doubt my promises? I intend to be faithful not only to this promise, but also to all the other promises I have made. I will see to it that the promises I have made are translated into action without a hitch. Toward this, I will exert efforts to see whether they are carried out without any hitch with a check list.

[Yu] During the election campaign, you said that you would reduce the functions of such national security institutions as the Agency for National Security Planning and Defense Security Command and make them return to their normal duty. Some people even say that these intelligence offices should be deprived of their right to investigate. Could you please tell us what you will do concerning the reorganization of these security offices and in what way you will change and readjust the relations between the police and the prosecutor's office and their respective functions?

[No] We are studying ways to reorganize their functions and mutual working relationship in line with the reform of the administration and social reforms in a desirable way;

[Yu] The combat policemen who disappeared for a while following your 29 June declaration have now furtively returned to the streets. Given its chief mission, that is to say, putting down demonstrations, if the new government still retains combat police, it would be a disservice, in many ways, to its claim that it will promote great national reconciliation. Do you plan to keep the combat police in place?

[No] As students, workers, and combat policemen are all young men and our contemporaries, seeing each group chase and being chased by the other pains our hearts. Never again should such a thing be allowed to occur. I will exert efforts to prevent the young men from suffering or being sacrificed by tenaciously promoting democracy and public welfare and by steadily redressing problems and contradictory aspects of our society. When this happens, the government's ability to maintain law and order in society will be enhanced in a way that keeps society in order and guarantees stability for the common people and this in turn will provide peaceful living for all the people.

[Yu] Tell us what approach do you have to remove regional animosity.

[No] Many people saw the regional strife grow unprecedently through the recent presidential election and they are seriously concerned about it. We should crush open the old shell called regional animosity, at all costs and without fail. At this juncture when our country is just a few steps away from entering the ranks of the advanced countries and when our country is scheduled to host the Olympics, the peace festival of mankind, it is one of the things we have to eliminate without fail. Viewed in this light, putting into practice autonomous local government is one of the best ways to solve it. At the same time, it is necessary to be fair in personnel management in a way that does not favor people hailing from certain provinces and to promote balanced regional development, including the effort to narrow the gap between urban and rural communities. This, too, is one of the issues that the CPDR is assigned to handle and I am convinced that the committee will come up with a good solution to it. I will do my best to put it into practice. I also find the idea of moving some government offices to local cities worthwhile in that it will help curb the monstrous growth of the metropolitan city, evenly scatter the population, and develop the national territory in a balanced way.

[Yu] The autonomous local government has long been discussed. We believe that the autonomous local government will be put into practice before too long. We also understand that the heads of the autonomous local governments, including the mayors of Seoul and Pusan, will have to be chosen by direct vote. When do you think the autonomous local government system, with the heads of such autonomous local governments elected by direct vote, will be completely put into practice?

[No] Power should be decentralized in terms of functions as well as in terms of regions. In other words, it can be achieved only through practicing autonomous local government. In order to effectively run the autonomous local government system, I will see to it that the mayors of Seoul and other cities as well as the governors of provinces are elected by direct vote during my term of office. When the new National Assembly is formed, the rival parties will start negotiations over it.

[Yu] What method do you have to deal with left-leaning procommunist forces?

[No] I will boldly accommodate even progressive and radical calls and ideas in response to the spirit of the times, democracy, and national reconciliation, while placing a premium on healing the general political and social problems as well as on improving political and social conditions based on such a principle. Also, I will first try to reason with the left-leaning violence-oriented revolutionary forces bent on negating and subverting liberal democracy, the framework of our community, based on the spirit of dialogue and generosity. If they still remain the same without showing any change in their stand, I make it clear that I will sternly deal with them according to the opinion of the people who hope for social stability and who aspire to defend and develop the liberal democratic system.

[Yu] Some members of the public hold the opinion that in order to accept into the political sphere the trend of socialism, which has tended to win considerable support from our young people, it is desirable to allow the advent of ideological political parties. Please comment on this.

[No] I think that in order to settle the structural contradictions and problems existing in a diversified and pluralistic industrial society, all progressive views and assertions with a new outlook on the world should be accommodated into the political establishments. I have emphasized many times that if progressive political parties which seek such a progressive ideology appear in our society, I will not spare assistance for them. However, my opinion is that the problem of such progressive forces should be settled through the advent of new progressive political parties or through the reorganization of the present opposition camp. However, there should be some discrimination between such progressive forces and the leftist forces which seek violence and revolutionary logic under all circumstances.

[Yu] There has been an assertion in our political circles that in order to allow political parties seeking socialist democracy to be active in political circles, the National Security Law and the Social Security Law should be revised or abolished. Please comment on this.

[No] During the presidential election campaign last December, an opposition presidential candidate, calling for the establishment of a democratic government, asserted that he would defend the interests of specific

classes. However, there has been no change in my opinion that all progressive voices, regardless of whether they seek democratic socialism or socialist democracy, should be accommodated in the current political establishments, if they respect the principles of parliamentary democracy. However, considering our reality of national division, which is different from the situation of other countries, I think it is not desirable to abolish the National Security Law, which is a minimum device to defend "myself and ourselves" and "our society and country." If elements infringing upon the basic rights of the citizens and their freedom and dignity are found in the Social Security Law, I think it is possible to revise the law through discussions between the ruling and opposition parties and based on recommendations from the human rights organizations, including the Korean Lawyers' Association.

[Yu] As for the Social Security Law, there have been strong voices asserting that the law is not only against the spirit of the Constitution, but also damages the dignity of the constitutional state. Do you see any possibility of revising or abolishing the law?

[No] The new Constitution has emphasized more thoroughly than ever before the basic rights of individuals, including the freedom of the physical body of an individual, by reflecting the agreement reached between the ruling and opposition parties when the law was revised. Therefore, if such laws or systems which run counter to the provisions of the basic rights stipulated in the new Constitution are found, they should be rectified for the embodiment of the dignity of the constitutional state and for the thorough guarantee of human rights.

[Yu] Would you tell me about your plan, if any, to prevent the military from intervening in politics?

[No] Political intervention by the military is an unfortunate situation in a democratic country. Politics should be entrusted to politicians. This is my firm conviction.

In particular, at a time when our society, a diversified and internationalized society, is now looking forward to an advanced, democratic industrial society, the duty of the military is to defend the country, and politics should be entrusted to politicians. Therefore, the only way of preventing the military from intervening in politics is for our political leaders, including myself, to make efforts to ensure correct and clean politics with a strong sense of responsibility. By so doing our politicians can thoroughly prevent in advance social chaos, the division of national consensus, and other factors that may invite the military's intervention in politics. This is, I think, precisely the way for the achievement of the military's political neutrality and a democratic, civilian government. I myself will do my best for this and, at the same time, I, as a man well aware of the military, will make all possible efforts to foster and develop our Army, the Army of our people.

[Yun] Do you have any idea of filling the post of defense minister with a civilian, and not with a former military man?

[No] The basic principle of my personnel management policy is to appoint anyone who has ability and is competent in that field and who enjoys the confidence of the people, regardless of whether he is a civilian or a former military man. However, taking into consideration our specific national security, I think the defense minister should be a man who possesses special knowledge and rich experience in that post, because otherwise he cannot properly carry out the mission of defense minister. However, as I have mentioned, any person who possesses these requirements can be appointed defense minister, regardless of whether he is a civilian or a former military man.

[Yu] Some people say that there is a private organization in our military that has reportedly tended to make the military politically oriented, in violation of military discipline. If this is true, what steps will you take?

[No] There is no private organization in the military. There should not be such an organization in the military. The raison d'être of the military lies in its defense of our country and protection of our free democratic system. The military exists for this purpose. Along with this, the military should not forget its duty.

[Yu] Many people say that the posting of former military men in government offices, business enterprises, and state-run firms has tended to lower the morale of civilian experts in these organs. How will you rectify this problem in the future?

[No] I have volunteered to become the stepping-stone on the road toward building a civilian, democratic society. As we cross the stepping-stones one by one, the destination toward which we are advancing comes nearer. We will liquidate all sorts of authoritarianism through reforms in the upper echelons and through the accommodation of all public opinions from the lower echelons. We will make all efforts to improve, rectify, or eliminate all problems which arise in the implementation of our policies by attaching greater importance to the process of policies, rather than their goals and results. We will make greater efforts so that autonomy can be guaranteed in every field of society. We will also make efforts to give the people hope and expectations for the future.

[Yu] How will you maintain, in the future, relations with President Chon Tu-hwan who will retire soon?

[No] I am going to receive much advice from him, as he is someone who has had many and rich experiences in running the broad-ranging affairs of state and has registered many achievements therefrom. The new Constitution also stipulates that the outgoing president becomes chairman of the Elder Statesmen's Advisory Council. I expect much advice from him.

## Chon Tu-hwan Addresses News Conference

### Discusses Retirement Plans

SK010655 Seoul Television Service in Korean  
1200 GMT 29 Jan 88

[Opening statement by ROK President Chon Tu-hwan during his news conference with foreign reporters based in Seoul and Tokyo held at Chongwadae on 29 January—recorded]

[Text] Foreign reporters from various countries of the world:

I am very pleased to have you here and to talk with you. I am grateful, in particular, because many foreign reporters, who are based in Tokyo, Japan, are participating in my news conference.

I am very sorry for not having frequent opportunities to meet you, the reporters, during my term as president. Thank you for your eager and attentive efforts in reporting on the Korean situation. I am also very grateful to our allies for extending much encouragement during my term in office.

As you well know, as stipulated in our Constitution, I am scheduled to retire from the presidency on 24 February after serving a single 7-year term in office and transfer the presidency to the president-elect, selected in the December, 1987, election. Seeking security, economic stability, and political development without hindering growth was the most difficult task during my 7-year term in office. If security is imperiled and if the economy collapses as we seek democratic development, it would present a very bad situation. Therefore, the government has made efforts to meet various demands, while maintaining security and stability. Our people also chose reform and development amidst stability in the recent presidential election.

Korea is marking the flowering of democracy in earnest, based on the strong foundation of free democratic forces. I am proud of the might of our people for attaining such political and economic development. I believe that with pride and confidence in such development, our people are generally optimistic about their future. I am confident that you, the foreign reporters, will become witnesses who will watch and record in history the bright future of Korea. I am also confident that you, the reporters, will deal with the bright and positive aspects of Korea in evaluating and reporting on the Korean situation. I will now answer your questions. Thank you. [applause]

**Answers Reporters Questions**

SK300201 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English  
30 Jan 88 p 2

["Excerpts" from Chon Tu-hwan question and answer session with 100 foreign reporters at Chongwadae on 29 January]

[Text] Question: Despite outstanding economic growth during your presidency, questions were raised with regard to legitimacy. Do you think it is possible the military will step in again?

Answer: To answer your question directly, I believe it will never happen again.

Should it happen again, Korea would experience a repeat of its unfortunate history.

You raised a question about the legitimacy of the Fifth Republic.

Let me begin with the background of the Fifth Republic's inauguration.

President Pak Chong-hui died suddenly in October 1979, creating uncontrollable political and social unrest in Korea.

Martial law was declared the night President Pak died.

Against this backdrop, a new government was inaugurated in the lawful and democratic procedure laid down by the then constitution and statutes.

Later, a referendum was held for the adoption of a new constitution for the Fifth Republic. It was approved by 91 percent of votes cast. The voting rate was 95 percent.

Under the constitution, elections were held to reflect the wishes of the people. I do not think the government created in this manner had any legitimacy problem.

But such a controversy came out of Korea's political climate. I don't think it matters to people well versed in democratic procedures.

Let me talk about the December presidential election by direct popular voting as was demanded by the opposition.

Candidate No Tae-u was elected with an overwhelming margin. But you will remember what opposition candidates said about the election outcome instead of accepting it and sending bouquets to the winner.

Because the next president was elected by direct popular voting, reflecting the wishes of the people, there cannot, and should not, be a controversy over legitimacy. Q: The unfortunate Kwangju incident was caused before you took office. What do you think about it? A: The incident

was caused amid efforts to settle the worst-ever crisis which threatened the existence of the nation. It was a very unfortunate and regrettable incident.

I hope that the scars left by the incident will be healed as soon as possible so that the people are no longer worried by matters arising from it.

I also hope that Kwangju citizens and political leaders join hands to solve the issue. Q: If you were thrown back to 1979, how would you start again? And please tell us about your plan after retirement. A: Honestly speaking, I wouldn't like to be thrown back to 1979. The reason is that the nation faced a very difficult situation at that time and the people were distressed.

At that time, I did not have the slightest intention to become the president. I neither specialized in politics nor had any interest in it.

As for the question about my plan if I were thrown back to 1979, I will give an answer in private after dwelling upon it at my leisure after retirement. (He laughed.)

My term of office expires in 26 days. Upon leaving this presidential residence, I'd like to take a good rest with my family. As a president who did not want to be president, I was kept busier and more tired than other presidents who desired the office.

I want to read books, write my memoirs and freely travel here and there.

In Korea, the president is a man who is most deprived of freedom. When I leave office, I will restore my deprived freedom.

These days, I and my family are pleased to move from here to a new home. We often sit late talking about home life. Q: You said south and north Korea in the long run would be able to foster a relationship of peaceful coexistence. Then, what's your short-term prediction about the development of inter-Korea relations before the Olympics? A: North Korea might resort to terrorism and any other means to disrupt the Olympics. I don't expect north Korea to change its policy and decide to participate in the Seoul Games.

But, we are fully prepared to crush any disruptive activities by the north. I can say for sure that safety will be guaranteed for athletes and tourists during the Olympics.

I'm worried that the Soviet military build-up in the Far East might help encourage north Korea to invade the south.

Fortunately, however, the Soviet Union, China and most other Communist countries have decided to attend the Games. Considering this, Pyongyang might be further isolated in the international community.

With the south expected to continue its growth in economy and various other fields, the gap in national power between the two sides would be greater in the years to come.

North Korea spends 24 percent of its GNP, which is less than \$20 billion, for military purposes and its economy is on the verge of collapse. My prediction is that the north would have no other choice but to pursue open policies.

Considering these factors, the inter-Korea dialogue may resume in 1989, or in the early 1990s at the latest.

What is most important in inter-Korea relations is the restoration of mutual trust. Mutual trust will help foster a basis for peaceful coexistence, and ultimately national reunification. Q: Will you talk about the most memorable achievement during your presidency, and the most regrettable incident? And what score would you give yourself as the President? A: I think I have done many things. (Smiling) I am disappointed that you asked me to pick only one thing. But I will tell you about two of my achievements. One is the nation's first scheduled peaceful change of power, and the other is the doubling of the gross national product.

At the time of my inauguration, the GNP stood at \$60 billion. It doubled to \$120 billion in 1987. I feel really proud of these two things.

There were also many events for which I felt sorrow and bitter. One of them was the north Korea-engineered bombing in Rangoon of 1983 which took the lives of 17 innocent people, including several cabinet members. I still don't know how to console the bereaved families.

It is difficult to evaluate oneself. I hope you do the job on behalf of me and secretly send me the score.

**PPD's Statement on Election Frauds Reported**  
41070029b Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean  
29 Dec 87 p 1

[Paid political advertisement by the Party for Peace and Democracy (PPD): "We Expose Five Types of Election Frauds"]

[Text] Respected and beloved fellow countrymen! How deeply are you depressed? As we think of your feelings, we feel regret and have no words to express our consolation.

Our party made every effort to reveal the entire picture and concrete facts of the fraudulent election by encouraging its organizations throughout the nation. As a result, we confirmed that extremely vicious, intellectual and scientific frauds were perpetrated extensively. Our conclusion is that Mr No Tae-u won less than half of the 8 million votes he claimed to have won.

We would like to report to you, fellow countrymen, about the aspects of the fraudulent election perpetrated by the current regime by dividing them into five categories. The more detailed instances will be given in a white paper on the fraudulent election which we will publish separately.

We firmly believe that the election was entirely fraudulent, that Mo No Tae-u's victory was a fabrication, that the truth of the incident will be revealed more clearly as time passes, and that our fellow countrymen will never tolerate such a fraudulent election and will make a stern judgment. We wish you, fellow countrymen, further successes in the future, and ask for your continued encouragement and guidance.

1. Ballot box fraud: On the day the votes were counted the ballot box escort guards from the opposition parties were illegally expelled by police throughout the country. A number of ballot counting places were encircled by several hundred riot police and the tear gas canisters they fired indiscriminately reminded us of an atmosphere of martial law.

If there were no fraudulent plots in transporting the ballot boxes as they claim, why did they drag the escort guards of the opposition parties down from the entrance of the ballot counting places, including the main gate of the school, and why did they transport the boxes only by the officials of the election management committee and police in many parts of the nation?

A. In Chechon, North Chungchong Province, the PPD side put secret tickets [pipye] including resident registration cards into 16 ballot boxes, suspicious of the possibility that the ballot boxes could be replaced. However, only one secret ticket was found in the ballot counting place.

B. In Kuro District, Seoul, fraudulent ballot boxes were being taken out as much as 6 and 1/2 hours before the closing hour for voting, which clearly indicated the boxes were replaced. However, they were detained by citizens and students and thus a great protest commotion was touched off. The police mobilized approximately 4,000 troops and dispersed the people by force and in a cruel manner. They then snatched ballot boxes. This was a fact which all the people were clearly aware of. No other evidence than this is needed to clearly prove fraud in the election.

C. At the place where ballots were counted in Northern Pusan District, more votes than the number of voters were found and an observer from the opposition party declared the votes null and void and left the place.

In addition to this, more votes were found than the number of voters in many places including Taejon, Sindangdong, Seoul, and Inchon.

D. At the place ballots were counted in Chunsong County, Kangwon Province, five unlocked ballot boxes were found. An observer from the opposition party protested this and departed. Moreover, in Hongchon, Kangwon Province, 11 ballot boxes were discovered with the locks off and with no seals from the voting district. Even the chairman of the election management committee of this district admitted this.

E. In Tongnae Ulgu District, Pusan, the ballot box of the No 4 voting district, Changion No 1 dong, was not sealed. Thus, protests were lodged and fraud was found. As a result, the chairman of the election management committee [of the district] declared his resignation over the loudspeaker.

This phenomenon was common throughout the country except for North and South of Cholla Province.

## 2. The undeniable suspicion of computer manipulation:

A. In Wando, South Cholla Province, at 2200 [1300 GMT] on the night of 16 December—at a time when the vote counting had not even begun—the television broadcast a false report that candidate Kim Tae-chung had obtained approximately 7,000 votes.

In Mokpo, South Cholla Province, at around 2200 [1300 GMT] on the same day—at a time when voting results had not been announced—the television broadcast a false report that about 60 percent of vote counting was completed. Thus, the chairman of the election management committee apologized for this on the spot while the television station made an apologetic statement by cutting in, noting “the mistake in computer handling” and so forth.

B. Many presidential elections have been held in the past. However, in no case was there such a consistent difference of 2 million votes between the first and second places and 200,000 votes between the second and the third places as in the recent election.

Furthermore, the vote count by the National Coalition [for Democracy] showed that candidate Kim Tae-chung was ahead of the third place candidate by over 300,000 votes with 60 percent of the vote counting completed.

The instance of SEOUL SINMUN publishing an advance extra edition is a more concrete piece of evidence. On the early morning of 17 December when only half of the vote counting was finished, SEOUL SINMUN reported that the final number of votes won by Mr No Tae-u was 8,102,450 and that the votes won by the two Kims numbered 6 million more or less. These figures were consistent with the actual number of votes won. This paper published an extra edition reporting the result of the final votes which no one could know unless it was fabricated beforehand. The paper then hastily collected it while circulating.

C. In reporting the ballot counting in Taegu as to the number of votes cast in favor of DJP candidate Mr No Tae-u, TONG-A ILBO reported 600,363 votes as of 0900 [0000 GMT] on 17 December, CHUNGANG ILBO 680,363 votes as of 0900 [0000 GMT] the same day, TONG-A ILBO 900,363 as of 1100 [0200 GMT] on 17 December, which is 2 hours later than its previous report, and HANGUK ILBO 800,363 as of 0100 on 18 December [1600 GMT on 17 December].

It is suspicious to us that the number of votes counted increased and decreased depending on the newspapers reporting during the 16 hours of reports. In particular, what kind of trick was there to make all the figures end with 363?

How can the authorities explain the strong suspicion among the people that the figures might have been predetermined and the votes and ballot boxes replaced in accordance with the predetermined figures?

## 3. The truth of the fabrication of ghost voters.

When our party on 21 December estimated the number of ghost voters to be at least 930,000, the authorities staged a counter-propaganda mentioning “economic population,” as if our party had presented a false figure.

Then we will take the statistics as of 1 November 1985 based on the national census taken by the Economic Planning Board Statistical Bureau. According to these statistics, the number of people at ages 18 or over (those who could be eligible voters in the last presidential election) was not more than 25,695,747. Deducting 437,824 of the same age brackets who died and 74,375 who emigrated to other countries, the number of eligible voters in the last election should not exceed 25,183,548.

Nevertheless, the authorities calculated the number of eligible voters at 25,873,624. Are not then the 690,000 persons in excess the ghost voters?

Also, taking into account the 200,000 to 300,000 non-eligible voters, such as those banned from voting, those under a partial ban, the imprisoned, and those on probation, who are included in the census statistics but who have no right to vote, we should say that at least 900,000 ghost voters were fabricated.

Besides, we found many instances of omitting the names of voters who were likely to vote for candidate Kim Tae-chung from the voter list in Seoul and provincial areas. It was commonplace that an average of 50 persons' names were intentionally omitted from the list per voting district. Nationwide, this amounts to 650,000. Since it is doubtless that the fabricated ghost voters took the place of these, the difference in the number of votes resulting from this fraud alone between candidates Kim Tae-chung and No Tae-u could be 1,700,000.

## 4. Fraud with absentee votes.

One of the typical types of fraud in the last election was the fraud with absentee votes, in particular, open ballot under pressure in the army units, and the changing of votes after conducting secret ballots.

Thus, assuming that at least 500,000 votes were stolen from 850,000 absentee votes nationwide, we arrive at the figure of a 1 million vote difference between the two competing candidates.

In Hwasan Myon, Haenam County, South Cholla Province, the authorities issued draft notices, after the preparation of the voters' list ledger, to 64 youths who were likely to vote for candidate Kim Tae-chung, making them absentee voters. Later, these youths were notified that the draft was postponed, which forced them to be deprived of their voting rights. If the ruling party abused these absentee votes, it must have been benefited in two ways. The fraud of this nature was committed in many places across the country.

#### 5. Mean fabrication of invalid votes:

In many places across the country, including Kangso District in Seoul, the chairman of the election management committee did not put his official seal on the voting slip given to the voters who were likely to vote for candidate Kim Tae-chung of our party, thus intentionally invalidating these votes.

Also, it was even worse that many of those who voted for candidate Kim Tae-chung marked their ballots not with a brush cap but with a wooden seal, thereby invalidating the vote.

The invalid votes of these two types cast for candidate Kim Tae-chung numbered an average of 60 per ballot box in the case of Kangso District. The fraud of this nature involving the chairman of the election management committee in the voting district in collusion with the authorities was committed in many areas across the country, including Kangso, Yongsan, and Tobong Districts in Seoul; Iksan in North Cholla Province; Yosu in South Cholla Province; and Yangsan in South Kyongsang Province. In the case of Koje in South Kyongsang Province, at No 4 polling station alone the number of invalid votes cast for candidate Kim Tae-chung (without the seal of the chairman of the election management committee) was 154. If this kind of fraud was committed on an average of 60 votes per voting district, the national total would amount to 800,000 votes.

If we consider only the five representative types, the cumulative rigged votes number more than several millions. Other fraudulent acts concerning vote buying, including relay voting, voting by proxy, the expulsion of opposition election observers, and the buying off of opposition election observers, were committed beyond description. In this respect, we conclude that DJP candidate No Tae-u won, by pure means, less than half of the 8 million votes.

We cannot but conclude that many votes were stolen, many of them candidate Kim Tae-chung's.

We think that these election frauds required the involvement of numerous people. We urge them to disclose, in the name of conscience and justice and before the people and history, the true picture of frauds they were compelled to commit.

Our PPD will protect, by all means, all of those who muster their courage by sacrificing themselves. We, along with the people, also promise to give them honor and compensation.

Scholars, religious personages, cultural personages, students, workers, farmers, and people of all other walks of life are rising up to vehemently denounce election frauds and are waging a struggle to make the election null and void. In addition to us, even the congressional inspection team of the Democratic and Republican Parties of the United States points out that even though frauds were committed in the Korean election, the media at home and abroad did not report on them sufficiently.

Considering these facts, you, the people, can understand that our overall rejection of the recent presidential election is not an arbitrary PPD decision.

The instances that have been pointed out so far are just the tip of the iceberg. Our party collected approximately 1,000 election rigging cases and will soon release a more detailed report on them in the "White Paper on the Rigged Election."

In the name of history and the people, we are resolved to wage a struggle, to the end, against hidden election frauds. We expect the understanding and encouragement of you, the people.

/06662

**RDP, PPD Ideological Dispute Seen Emerging**  
*SK040129 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English*  
4 Feb 88 pp 1, 2

[By staff reporter Yi Chang-sop]

[Text] An ideological dispute is emerging between the two rival opposition groups as the Party for Peace and Democracy [PPD] adds a progressive touch to its professed moderate reformist line with the recruiting of 97 dissidents yesterday.

PPD president Kim Tae-chung emphasized that the joining of the extraparlimentary figures will have no effect on the moderate reformist line the party has been pursuing but the backgrounds of the new entrants are painted in a somewhat different color.

Kim Yong-sam's Reunification Democratic Party alleged that the PPD has changed its political color as the new entrants were assured of a "50 percent share" in the party.

The spokesman for the RDP said yesterday that opposition integration is an all-but-hopeless cause now that Kim Tae-chung has exposed his true political colors.

Indications are that the rival opposition parties—the RDP and the PPD—are likely to embroil themselves in a round of futile ideological controversy just before the general elections.

The PPD president stressed that the dissident politicians, most of whom stood in the vanguard of the democratization movement in the 1970s and 1980s, are seeking to make the PPD a policy-oriented national party commanding the wide support of the people.

He tried hard to deny speculation that the PPD is transforming itself into a radical reformist group by accommodating progressive dissidents.

Kim compared the policy line of his party with that of the Democratic Party in the United States.

He said U.S. Democrats advocate the promotion of the interests of labor organizations, blacks, the urban poor, and the progressive middle class.

Like the U.S. Democrats, the PPD will promote the interests of workers, farmers, the alienated and the progressive middle class, the PPD president added.

To downplay public interest in and worry over a possible PPD tilt toward a radical reformist line, Kim emphasized that his party is a staunch advocate of the free market economic system, anti-Communism and social stability.

He explained that the PPD is broadening the gamut of interest groups in the party by absorbing reform-minded progressives into it.

The 97 new entrants consist of professors, lawyers, human rights activists, dismissed student leaders, representatives of the urban poor, farmers and workers.

The RDP termed them radical reformists who do not represent true dissident groups in Korea.

Kim Tae-chung countered the allegation by saying that those democratic dissidents joined the party because they followed the policy line of the party, and were not attempting to make drastic changes in the party line.

Most PPD seniors and members hailed their entry, saying that they should serve to give great momentum to the refurbishment of the image of the party now in confusion. But they are worried that the new entrants may seek too much change in the party in too short a time.

It is the first time in the history of Korean politics for an opposition party to join hands with figures advocating a progressive line en masse.

PPD insiders hope that the progressive nature of the dissidents will be tamed into the moderate reformist line the PPD has been espousing.

However, there is also fear that the moderate reformists may be outranked by the progressive in the future.

At an initial stage, progressive dissidents and conservative PPD members are likely to clash from time to time in the course of decision-making;

Thus, Kim Tae-chung's prime task will be coordinating the opinions of the two political factions in the party, observers said.

They said as a coordinator, Kim must maintain strong leadership and guardianship.

Kim also charted a new course for his own political career and his two-and-half month old party by adopting a collective leadership.

His switch to the group leadership is seen as an attempt to save himself from internal and external pressures to retire and to bolster his embittered party.

Under collective leadership, Kim is certain to become the chief representative of the seven-member decision-making body. The top decision-making body will consist of Kim, three existing PPD seniors and the three dissident recruits.

The dissident entrants will be assured 50 percent of party nominations for House elections, as they demanded before their entry.

PPD seniors complained Tuesday in a meeting that Kim made too many concessions to the dissidents by allowing them 50 percent control of the party.

PPD floor leader Ho Kyong-nam said, "It is premature to promise them a 50 percent share as we do not know the real character and political weight of the 97 dissidents."

Kim made the decision to adopt the collective leadership, not out of his own volition, but by demands from the dissidents, other officials noted.

Kim emphasized that there should be no internal discord and disarray in the future in the party with the entry of the dissidents.

He asserted that the entry of the dissidents is expected to give a great boost to the PPD seeking to gear up for the forthcoming legislative elections and for full implementation of the local autonomy system.

Kim indicated yesterday his party would conditionally accept the election result of No Tae-u, although the ruling party candidate won just 36.6 percent of the votes.

For No to lead national politics in a stable manner, Kim said, the president-elect must implement his campaign commitments and democratic reform proposals including the adoption of the small constituency system and full implementation of the local autonomy system.

He said the RDP move is against the spirit of true opposition moves toward an ultimate integration.

**Daily Lauds Democratization of Party Structures**  
41000007 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English  
29 Dec 87 p 8

[Editorial: "Partisan Democracy"]

[Text] The political parties have embarked on programs to transform themselves into democratic systems, keeping abreast with the reform movement in various fields coinciding with the period around the December 16 presidential election. These moves have come amidst mounting public criticism that the political parties have yet to cast off their old crust of dogmatism.

The nation's partisan organizations have been administered arbitrarily by an authoritarian leader without adequate intra-party democratic processes. Dissident views within the party have been hardly tolerated, being branded in most cases anti-partisan activities.

Party leaders in this respect are only doubtfully qualified to implement democracy when they assume the helm of the nation. Unable to democratize their own parties, how can they run the nation in a truly democratic way, critics have questioned.

The powerful leadership in contemporary politics has won the credit for the strong struggle against dictatorial governments. At the same time, it has resulted in the negligence of intraparty democratization which has hardly caught up with the enhancement of the political sense of the general public.

Though belated, the ruling Democratic Justice Party is undertaking democratic programs, forming a subcommittee of the party's highest executive council designed to study "democratic party's operation." They party also plans to amend its charter to encourage a more democratic party organization.

Similar moves have taken place in the major opposition Reunification Democratic Party with its party president Kim Yong-sam announcing his intention to stake his party hegemony on the results of a vote of confidence in a national convention early next month.

In both the ruling and opposition parties in the past, the party head has wielded full powers in the choice of the party staff posts and parliamentary candidates. No party members dared to raise objections to the system which was regarded as natural.

It is fortunate that the political parties are undergoing this change in party systems as a result of the presidential election, providing a chance for self-reflection for both the victor and losers.

Insofar as the selection of the parliamentary candidates, if not the party positions, is concerned, an election system adopting any expedient method is recommended, as long as it eradicates unilateral appointment by the party leadership.

Democracy cannot well function without a broad popular base. The parties' own practicing of democratic administration will contribute to build a democratic foundation to the nation, just as the projected enforcement of local autonomy system across the country will.

Cognizant of the fact that democracy must not be handed down from above but built up from the bottom, the leaders of the political parties must abide by this principle, desisting from dogmatic or charismatic methods of controlling their partisan forces.

/06662

**Daily on PPD Reorganization Plan**  
SK030043 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English  
3 Feb 88 p 8

[Editorial: "Reorganized Opposition Party"]

[Text] The decision to reorganize the opposition Party for Peace and Democracy [PPD] is both good news and bad news. Pressed for a new political blueprint, party head Kim Tae-chung has revealed his decision to convert the party's present one-man leadership system to a collective one by admitting non-partisan figures. His plan is to run the party with present party leaders and newcomers having equal footing and with himself only as their representative.

Kim's decision virtually brings to naught efforts which have been waged to merge the existing opposition forces into a coalition for an effective battle with the ruling camp in the forthcoming parliamentary elections. At the same time, the PPD will see internecine war with the

first opposition Reunification Democratic Party led by Kim Yong-sam to take the second place in the projected new National Assembly. In this respect, we have here an unfortunate development.

On the other hand, however, the new party plan has its bright side, in that it holds out the hope for political realignment. The Kim idea, as reported, is to recruit a number of leading figures including priests, lawyers, professors, dissident politicians, representatives of laborers, farmers and anti-government groups. In a nutshell, the party is seeking to embrace so-called progressive or socialist elements who have been left out in the cold and treated as political outcasts.

This is an encouraging development, especially considering that so-far discontented classes may be absorbed into the established system and enabled to stage bonafide competition to achieve their political purposes. Such a process is of the utmost importance. Otherwise, these groups will remain underground elements, yeast for the fermentation of social unrest.

Kim Tae-chung and his followers, in fact, had little justification for their action when they deserted the major opposition RDP in order to compete in the presidential election. Because of this, Kim has had to take the blame for the opposition defeat and has been put in an awkward position in the opposition merger movement.

The opposition forces should have succeeded in the grand merger; the nation could have the right to a viable contest in the Assembly election. But now that prospects for that are very slim, the second best alternative is the emergence of a party with ideology and policies to match the existing conservative parties.

#### **DJP Ready for Action on Election Revision**

SK030301 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English  
3 Feb 88 p 2

["News Analysis" column: DJP Ready for Unilateral Action on Assembly Election Law Draft"]

[Text] The ruling Democratic Justice Party seems to be preparing for a unilateral action on revising the parliamentary election law as the self-imposed deadline for the revision's passage is approaching.

After putting a compromise revision draft on the table for negotiations, the DJP has asked opposition parties to come up with a unified proposal by today.

But what the ruling party is asking for cannot be easily realized. Two opposition parties favor the election of two or more lawmakers from each electoral district while one opposition prefers the election of one from each district.

The DJP, which proposes up to three lawmakers be picked from a constituency, insists a revision to the election law pass the National Assembly by Feb. 16 for the smooth implementation of the nation's political agenda.

Initially, the DJP proposed 161 of the 211 districts elect one legislator while each of 41 others select two. The remaining nine districts would pick three each.

But it revised its proposal and offered to elect one lawmaker from each of 128 districts, two from each of 55 districts and three from each of nine districts.

The number of the districts electing two lawmakers increased from 41 to 55, accommodating the wishes of the Reunification Democratic Party and the New Democratic Republican Party.

But the Party for Peace and Democracy [PPD] demands that the nation adopt a system of electing one lawmaker from each district.

The gap between party policy on rewriting the election law and individual lawmakers' preferences make it hard for rival parties to reach an accord at an early date.

The current system of electing two lawmakers, favored by incumbent lawmakers, is regarded as tainted for it originated, along with unproportional representation, as a device for an authoritarian government to secure a majority of Assembly seats.

Should the small constituency system of electing one lawmaker from each district be adopted, DJP lawmakers from Cholla provinces and large cities would have to fight an uphill battle.

The DJP leadership may favor the small constituency system because it is believed to favor the ruling party against the split opposition and help win a majority of seats despite anticipated losses in large cities and the Cholla provinces.

When it is deemed impossible to reach an accord with opposition parties, the ruling party may adopt the small constituency system and push for its passage through the Assembly.

The ruling party, which earlier wished to hold the general election this month, has decided to hold it next month because of a failure to agree on a revision draft with the opposition parties.

For the election to be held next month, the ruling party maintains the revision should be approved by the Assembly by Feb. 16.

During the period between the revision's passage and the election, both ruling and opposition parties will nominate parliamentary candidates, reorganize district chapters and engage in campaigning.

The key three opposition parties, RDP, PPD and NDRP [New Democratic Republican Party], seem to be unified in rejecting the DJP's one-to-three formula.

But they don't appear ready to come up with their own unified alternative, largely because of their obsession with partisan interests and causes.

Kim Yong-sam's RDP sticks to its two-to-four constituency despite popular outcry against it.

People, including even Kim's former supporters, claimed the RDP switched to the plural seat system from a single-member one only to "barely survive."

Kim Tae-chung's PPD appears proud of pressing for single-member constituency, one long fought for by opposition parties until as recently as the last presidential poll.

But the one-seat system doesn't seem to be a consensus choice of the party's lawmakers who seek to run in the forthcoming elections.

A majority of them rather prefer the plural seat constituency in which they stand a better chance of being elected than in a single-seat one. But they refuse to be outspoken about it.

Opposition parties are making their own efforts to produce a unified proposal to counter the DJP's one-to-three formula, but the chance of success is regarded as dim.

For example, the RDP has been trying in vain to persuade the PPD to give up its single-member constituency and support the plural-seat system. But the PPD rejected it as "nothing worthy of consideration."

Monday, DJP chairman Chae Mun-sik said that if the opposition parties came out with a unified stance, the ruling party was ready to positively study it.

Desperate for early compromise with the opposition on the issue of revising the parliamentary election law, the ruling party Tuesday proposed a modified one-to-three formula.

The new formula is different from the original one in that the number of single-member constituencies is drastically reduced, apparently to appease the RDP and the NDRP.

The RDP officially rejected the new DJP proposal. But many party officials showed reserved interest in it.

It raised the possibility that a compromise could be reached between the DJP and the opposition parties, if the ruling party further cuts the number of a single-member constituencies while increasing the two-seat ones.

RDP lawmakers and party president Kim Yong-sam seem to share a common view on that matter.

But the situation is different for the PPD led by Kim Tae-chung.

Kim Tae-chung has refused to give up a single-member constituency system. He apparently believes that his party will become at least the No. 1 opposition party after next elections only under a single-seat constituency.

But many of his party's lawmakers, mostly those not from Kim's home province and key political stronghold of Cholla-do, seemed to favor a plural seat constituency.

#### Changes Seen for Party Survival

SK030248 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English  
3 Feb 88 pp 2, 5

[Text] Kim Tae-chung's one-man rule of the Party for Peace and Democracy [PPD] is expected to end with its switching to a collective leadership yesterday.

The PPD yesterday decided to abolish party presidency held by Kim and adopt a seven-member supreme committee.

At a coming party national convention Kim will be named senior member of the committee which will collectively decide on key party policies, a job previously done by Kim alone.

The long-mulled change of the party leadership was regarded as a first major step for re-building its image in the wake of its loss in the Dec. 16 presidential vote.

The switch hardly seemed to come out of Kim's own will.

Instead Kim appeared to have been forced to consent to it under inside and outside pressure in a last-minute effort to allay public criticism of him and of the party for his election loss.

Kim's demotion to the senior member of the collective decision-making body also marked his first major slide in his political career which hit rock bottom in his second shot at the presidency last December.

The party's decision to switch to collective leadership came just a day after it announced admission of 98 outside figures, mostly dissident figures reputed for their long antigovernment struggle.

They reportedly had demanded such a change in the party leadership as a prerequisite for their joining the less than three month-old party.

It was for the first time that such dissident members, widely known as progressive forces, joined a political party en masse.

PPD lawmakers described it as the first union of "conservative" forces and "progressive" groups in the country.

The massive joining of the dissident figures to the PPD is expected to somewhat help refurbish the party's image and morale.

But political observers termed its admission of the "progressive" forces as an emergency blood transfusion.

They simply suggested it is doubtful whether the party will fare smoothly under the collective leadership in which the "progressive" forces are represented.

Observers aptly described the party as "in an experimental stage."

The dissident figures demand at least one-half of seats in key party posts, including supreme committee members. The committee members will be selected through voting.

Despite admission of the dissident figures, the party is not expected to take a drastic change in the party line, observers said.

They noted the party's existing platform closely matched that advocated by the new party members.

The dissident figures claimed that the party should represent the rights and interests of the middle-and lower-class merchants and industrialists and other alienated groups, a key part of the PPD's platform.

What also draws interest is that most of the new party members are young generation dissident figures who led democratic campaigns in the 1970s.

The PPD's embracing of the grassroots supporters is also designed to dampen debate on reunifying the opposition and ensure victory in the general election.

It reflects party president Kim Tae-chung's intention to curb agitation among party members because of the grand cause for integration and to face the elections with a reinforced party structure.

The PPD move is aimed at bringing into relief its distinction from the RDP and thereby take the offensive against it over the issue of "purity" at the general elections.

By joining hands with influential figures from the grassroots groups, the party intends to discourage a movement to launch a new opposition party and one step further to absorb its promoters. The birth of a new party would deal the hardest blow to the PPD.

Kim Tae-chung, who created the PPD two and a half months ago, now faces a change in his status by allowing the party to adopt a collective leadership.

His position will be weakened from an unrivalled leader in a one-man rule system to an elder among a seven-member collective leadership.

Party officials say his decision to turn to a new style of leadership might have been motivated by his desire to let in grassroots supporters without noise by accommodating their demand.

Another consideration which probably counted more, they said, is to protect himself from the public pressure to retire to a back seat. He has been a clearer target of such pressure than his rival Kim Yong-sam.

The collective leadership, when compared with the one-man rule, can be a more effective protection from public outcry for retirement.

In a sense, Kim might have wanted to change his role from a leader to a coordinator between conservatives and liberals or between existing party members and grassroots figures. Whether he wanted it or not, the need to maintain a balance between conservative and liberal groups inside the party will strengthen the power of the coordinator.

The final swing of the party to a collective leadership may be postponed till after the general elections as it has not fixed the date of a national convention which will decide upon the matter.

Three factors seem to have come into play in the postponement. First, there can be some noise in the selection by direct voting of seven party leaders at a national convention of some 2,000 representatives just before the general elections.

Second, the change of leadership prior to the elections may cause unexpected problems in strategies and put the party in disarray.

And last, the change may be adversely compared with other opposition parties which will all maintain strong one-man leadership for the elections.

PPD president Kim began to make efforts to recruit dissident figures when he met with some leading dissidents at his Tonggyo-dong home soon after his defeat in the presidential election on Dec. 16 last year.

After several weeks of negotiation, 98 dissident figures agreed to join the party. Thirty-three of them are members of a dissident group to promote the "unification of democratic political forces."

Kim formally split the opposition just one month before the presidential election by leaving rival Kim Yong-sam's Reunification Democratic Party along with his followers and forming a new party to back his presidential bid.

Several dissident leaders were asked by Kim to join the party. Three of them rejected the demand or deferred action, saying that they will continue to help Kim out of the PPD. They include lawyer Yi Tong-myong and Prof. Yi Mun-yong of Korea University.

Kim has said that Supreme Committee members will be elected through a vote at a national party convention later this month.

Three of the committee members will be selected from among dissident figures who joined from among dissident figures who joined the party, an indication that PPD power will be shared by figures in the established PPD and dissident groups.

Kim has showed signs of changing the party leadership system from a one-man rule to a collective system.

Among the leading dissidents who are favored to be named committee members are the Rev. Mun Tong-hwan and So Kyong-won, former leader of a Catholic farmers' group.

Three other council members are expected to be selected from among Reps. Yi Chung-chae, Yi Yong-hui and No Song-hwan, Pak Yong-nok and Cho Yun-hyong.

Some party members seem to be concerned about the possibility that dissident groups might rule the party as a result of the dissidents joining the party.

With their joining, intraparty controversy is expected over the platform the party pursues. Power struggles between figures in the established PPD and dissident groups are also expected.

#### **Dissidents Set Preconditions Before Entering PPD**

SK300123 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English 30 Jan 88 p 2

[Text] Pro-Kim Tae-chung dissident leaders set four preconditions for their entry into the Party for Peace and Democracy [PPD] yesterday.

First, they demanded that the PPD adopt a collective leadership system under which they will share half of the decision-making power.

Second, the PPD must adopt the small constituency system to pave the way for as many new elites as possible to become parliamentarians.

Third, the PPD should become more policy-oriented and more progressive than at present. The PPD is adopting a moderate reformist line.

The dissident figures then advocated that the current multi-party system must be overcome, meaning that the PPD must seek ways to integrate the opposition forces or become the largest opposition party through the forthcoming general elections.

It is believed that about 30-40 notable dissidents are considering becoming members of Kim Tae-chung's Party for Peace and Democracy.

They have been supporters of Kim Tae-chung outside of the party until now.

Kim Tae-chung seeks to freshen the image of the party by recruiting dissident figures by early next week.

Lawyers Yi Ton-myong, Yi Sang-su and Prof. Yi Mun-yong are among the prominent dissident figures planning to enter the party.

If and when Kim Tae-chung accepts their four preconditions and recruits as many dissident figures as possible, the PPD has no choice but to shift its policy toward a more progressive and more radical line, observers said.

When the dissidents decide to join the PPD, Kim Tae-chung will hold a national convention to revise the party constitution and to test his popularity, a PPD source said.

Kim said that he would finish the recruitment of dissidents by the end of this month and to prepare for the upcoming legislative elections.

However, those dissidents are weighing the timing of their entry into the party as a brisk move is in progress to integrate the divided and demoralized opposition.

Some of them are said to be favoring a delay in their entry because their joining the PPD now will give the impression that the PPD is not sincere in unifying the divided opposition.

Kim Tae-chung set Feb. 2 as the deadline for deciding the final course of his party and for completing the recruitment of dissidents.

### 89 Dissidents To Join PPD, Demand Power Share

SK020149 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English  
2 Feb 88 p 1

[Text] Eighty-nine dissidents yesterday expressed their intention to join the Party for Peace and Democracy [PPD] but they demanded the assurance of a "50 percent share" in the party before their entry.

Representatives of the dissidents submitted their intention to join the party and the conditions for their entry to PPD president Kim Tae-chung.

They include professors, lawyers, human rights activists, representatives of farmers and workers' organizations and the urban poor, religious leaders and 40 former student activists.

Prominent among them are Prof. Mun Tong-hwan, lawyer Yi Sang-su, So Kyong-won former chairman of the Catholic Farmers Association, Rev. Ko Yong-kun and Mrs. Pae Un-sim, mother of Yi Han-yol, a Yonsei University student who was killed last year by police-fired tear gas shell.

They demanded that the PPD adopt the collective leadership system under which 50 percent of the PPD decision-making body will be controlled by themselves.

As part of the 50 percent share, they also requested that an equal number of PPD lawmakers and dissidents form a joint screening committee to select candidates for the national Assembly election.

They also called on the PPD to hold a national convention before the forthcoming legislative election to revise the party constitution in favor of the collective leadership system and to renovate the structure of the party.

Under the collective leadership system, Kim Tae-chung will become the chief representative of the seven-member top decision-making body, and the remaining six seats will be equally shared between existing PPD seniors and the recruits from the dissident circles.

They recommended that Prof. Mun Tong-hwan, Mrs. Pak Yong-suk, incumbent PPD vice president and one senior dissident leader to be decided later be named vice presidents.

Kim Tae-chung is expected to accept the recommendation and will soon name three party seniors to become members of the decision-making body.

PPD president Kim said that the 89 are the first batch of recruits from the dissident circles and that the door is open to any dissidents and non-party oppositionists at any time.

The recruitment of the dissident figures will have no effect on the moderate reformist line the PPD has been pursuing, Kim said.

But observers said the PPD will have to tilt toward a more hardlined and progressive color with the entry of the dissident figures.

The dissidents said yesterday that the PPD must become a more policy-oriented party to promote the interests of the alienated, the farmers, workers and medium-size enterprises.

The PPD will actively spearhead the movement for the peaceful and independent unification policy, they said.

To consolidate the PPD as the only policy-oriented opposition party, they suggested that it set up a political academy to bring up future political leaders, issue a monthly gazette and establish a political development institute to develop policy alternatives.

They also proposed that the PPD open dozens of workers' halls near the industrial complexes so that the party can promote the welfare of laborers.

They also said the PPD will employ specialists through open competition so that they can activate the policy development of the party.

### Reconciliation Panel Gaining Broad Support

#### Called 'Very Useful Forum'

SK020241 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English  
2 Feb 88 p 2

["News Analysis" by staff reporter Yun Kuk-han: "Brisk Reconciliation Panel Surprises Critics, Skeptics"]

[Text] The Committee for Promotion of Democracy and National Reconciliation is gaining broader popular support these days.

The 56-member organization which was formed to make suggestions to President-elect No Tae-u on ways of achieving consensus on outstanding national issues is outdoing earlier expectations.

When the committee was first established by No and the ruling Democratic Justice Party, people were generally skeptical about the course of action the "neutral" body would take.

Some even viewed that the panel would be no different from other similar organizations which have been labelled as "progovernment."

Thus, the committee was regarded by skeptics merely as a gathering of senior citizens who were brought together only to keep President-elect No's election pledge to establish such a panel.

However, after the pan-national committee launched its activities, it emerged as a very useful forum for differing opinions to converge popular thoughts on the nation's most sensitive problems.

Divided into three subpanels, for democratic development, national reconciliation, and social reform, the 56-member body is engaging in candid and uncensored discussions to solve the political, social, and economic controversies of the past, most notably the 1980 Kwangju incident.

The committee is a mixture of former senior politicians, administrators, businessmen, academicians, artists, and social activists.

The committee's major theme is that a new era is necessary in the nation's political development.

The committee members share the view that division and continuity should be clearly manifested between the governments of the past and the future.

Of course, it remains to be seen how effectively the panel can develop its various opinions for national rapprochement into realistic policies.

In this regard, there are views that the opinions have been nothing more than impracticable theories.

Concerning the Kwangju incident of 1980, the committee has raised worries in ruling circles that it would end up in bringing discontent and conflict to the surface by dealing with the incident too theoretically or sentimentally.

But regardless of the nature of its proposals, which will be announced Feb. 23, the committee is expected to contribute to national reconciliation more than expected by arousing national concern about knotty social issues.

The committee recommended on Jan. 29 that all political prisoners be released and their honors be restored, pointing out that there arose many political crimes because of the undemocratic nature of society which in turn stems from the wrong-doings of the leadership.

The committee's demand is that the residues of "wrong politics" be wiped out. As for prisoners who are on trial and thereby cannot be released through a special amnesty, the committee called for a general amnesty as a way of their reinstatement.

The committee's recommendations are seen as a step forward from the government's scheme and as correctly reflecting the public desire

The most difficult task facing the committee is undoubtedly the Kwangju incident. The issue began to be tackled in earnest by the subpanel for national reconciliation from yesterday.

The committee drew public attention when it put the issue on the agenda of its full congress on Jan. 22. At that meeting, the consensus view was that the incident should be clarified first before solutions are discussed.

During the discussions, most of the committee members proposed that a true picture of the Kwangju incident be disclosed and that a new interpretation of it be made.

They further proposed punishment against those responsible and appropriate compensation for the victims.

Their proposals embarrassed the DJP, but there's no practical way for the committee, whose activities end in a month, to thoroughly disclose the total truth about the incident.

Therefore, the committee is likely to only propose to the government a way to resolve the incident and to define it.

Another issue concerning the incident was who should settle it.

Many members suggested that the incumbent president should deal with it, but the issue has not yet been decided.

In addition, such issues as the irregularities of the Saemaul Headquarters, the torture death of a college student, the independence of the judiciary branch, the political neutrality of the military, and etc. were raised during the panel sessions.

On the police "brutality," some members said that "without disclosing thoroughly all the facts of the torture death of Pak Chong-chol, torture will never die."

Some members proposed reinvestigation of major irregularities by the Saemaul Headquarters and business firms.

The ruling DJP has not intervened in the activities of the committee as originally planned. Three party lawmakers, who are members of the panel, have made few remarks.

The ruling party seems to be concerned about discussions among committee members on outstanding issues, including the 1980 Kwangju incident.

In particular, many committee members have called for the formation of a body to probe the incident.

What draws the most attention is how the committee will conclude its discussions on the incident.

This is because the results of its activities on the incident might cause yet more controversy.

The DJP, however, appears encouraged in that the committee's activities have helped the party improve its image.

### **Begins Kwangju Hearings**

SK020135 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English  
2 Feb 88 p 2

[Text] The democratization and Reconciliation Council yesterday began an in-depth debate on the 1980 military suppression of a popular uprising in Kwangju, reviewing documentary films and materials related to the incident.

The council members watched five sets of video-tapes showing the bloody scenes, provided by Catholic priests and some foreign groups in Japan and Canada.

They made an extensive review of printed materials related to the Kwangju case, which the defense Ministry had submitted to the National Assembly in 1985.

The council selected 15 persons to hear testimony on the politically-sensitive case.

Among those recommended by the council were Hong Nam-sun, a lawyer in Kwangju; Chang Hyong-tae, ex-governor of Chollanam-do province; Chong Ung, former commander of an infantry division responsible for the security of the Kwangju area; and Yon Kong-hui, archbishop of the Catholic Kwangju archdiocese.

Also included were Ku Yong-sang, former Kwangju city mayor; Gen. Yi Hui-song, ret., former martial law commander; Lt. Gen. Yi Kwang-no, ret., who made report on the military suppression.

After watching the videotapes, some members complained that the tapes were more or less "censored" to screen the bloody scenes.

Pak Ok-chae, representative of those wounded in the Kwangju uprising, said, "The videotapes are not realistic. For example, they don't contain any scenes of the killing."

Pak, who earlier demanded that the members obtain a videotape of the bloody uprising produced by U.S. CBS News, admitted, however, that the tapes are "genuine."

Rev. Cho Hyang-nok complained that the tapes did not contain the parts showing armed citizens rushing toward the Kwangju Prison which allegedly touched off the firing by the martial law forces.

The council members agreed that testimonies will be made openly "in principle" except when the testifying individuals request a closed-door session.

Kim Chae-son, president of the monthly magazine SAEMTO (FOUNTAIN), asserted that the testimony is better conducted behind closed doors to make the individuals feel at ease. he withdrew his remarks later, complying with the majority's opinion favoring an open testimony.

Pak Ok-chae asserted that a testimony is not enough, calling for the formation of a fact-finding commission to reinvestigate the kwangju incident.

Pak also asserted that the council should form a reporting center joined by people who are accepted in Kwangju where the citizens involved in the Kwangju incident report afresh the disappearance of their sons, daughters and relatives in the bloody incident which took nearly 200 lives by official tallies.

Council members plan to hold further discussions on these issues including the formation of a fact-finding body today.

The panel discussion on the Kwangju incident will continue until Thursday.

The council will work out an across-the-board scheme to settle the problems of Kwangju and present it to President-elect No Tae-u before his inauguration as president, scheduled for Feb. 25.

Government authorities had disclosed that about 200 citizens were killed, but dissident groups claim a higher death toll.

### **Council Sees Judicial Autonomy Necessary To Insure Basic Rights**

SK290059 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English  
29 Jan 88 p 8

[Editorial: "Independence of the Judiciary"]

[Text] In a timely and a welcome development, the "democratization and reconciliation council" launched by the ruling Democratic Justice Party, apparently in preparation for the birth of the Sixth Republic ushered in with the new president's swearing in on Feb. 25, is hotly debating the crucial need to ensure the basic rights of citizens and the independence of the judiciary.

As is well known, the nation's Constitution clearly stipulates the rights and duties of citizens in Chapter 2. Notable in the chapter is Article 10, which reads: "All citizens shall be assured of human worth and dignity, and have the right to pursue happiness. It shall be the duty of the State to confirm and guarantee the fundamental and inviolable human rights of individuals."

The natural rights of man that are endowed by God are indeed inviolable and untransferable. Democracy is vital to the protection and promotion of such rights, while essential to democracy is the independence of the judiciary, especially from the executive branch of government.

Consequently, it is deplorable to learn that a considerable number of violations of human rights, including in the worst cases torture-murder, have continued to recur in our society, raising hot public criticism. Shocking us last year were the torture-death of Pak Chong-chol, a college student and the so-called "sex torture" of a college woman in the course of police interrogation.

It must be noted in this regard that many members of the "democratization and reconciliation body" have stressed the necessity to ensure the independence of the judiciary. Suggested to this end have been the adoption of juries as in the United States and the appointment of career attorneys-at-law as judges.

One noteworthy suggestion has been that the incoming head of state and concurrently Chief Executive be recommended to proclaim his firm resolve to safeguard the human rights provided by law, in the form of a "Korean declaration of human rights," when he assumes his new mandate.

More important than these good suggestions for the independence of the court is the judiciary's resolution to abide by the tenets of the law under all circumstances. All judges should remain free of outside influences and promotions or demotions for rulings they should make independently in disregard of government power interventions.

They and all other officials of the judiciary are called upon, in particular, to stay clean-handed, upright and incorruptible, while devoting themselves to ensure justice is the last fortress safeguarding law and human rights.

**Intelligence Agency Ban From Politics Sought**  
*SK310113 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English*  
31 Jan 88 p 2

[Text] Members of the Democratization and Reconciliation Council have called for the grant of one cabinet seat without portfolio to the largest opposition party and ban involvement in political affairs by intelligence agencies.

In a free-wheeling debate, members of the first subpanel of the council, centering on democratic reforms, also demanded the reduction in power of presidential staff and the beefing-up of authority for the prime minister and the Cabinet.

The council, initiated by the ruling Democratic Justice Party as a provisional advisory body for the president-elect, has touched on such sensitive issues as abuse of power of the presidential security force and intelligence agencies, so far a taboo.

In other divisions, some proposed the formation of a fact-finding mission to reveal the truth of the bloody military suppression of the civil uprising in Kwangju in May 1980, one of the heaviest burdens of both the Chon Tu-hwan and No Tae-u administrations.

DJP officials who organized the "independent supra-partisan" council said that all contents in their final recommendation to No would be honored by the new government.

DJP officials are actually worried by the council's growing stretch of issues to possibly include the investigation of various scandals including abuses of power by the Saemaul Movement Headquarters run by the President's brother, Kyong-hwan.

The voices of council members are even tougher than those of opposition lawmakers.

In a Friday session, No Chong-hyon, a Yonsei University professor, noted that mechanisms of the powerful presidential staff, his security force and the Agency for National Security Planning (NSP) are "too large and apt to go beyond the commission."

He said that the president is only to give visions and the prime minister is virtually in charge of all state affairs.

Former deputy prime minister Yi Han-pin viewed it more important for the next president to revamp operations of the administration rather than revise its structure.

He hoped for the reduction in Chongwadae's power, the allotment of one ministerial post for the opposition and recruitment of those with political careers and "political sense" as Cabinet members instead of bureaucrats.

"The next president is desired to prevent intelligence agencies from intervening in political affairs and to form a three-member ad hoc committee for bureaucratic reform," he stressed.

Kim Tu-hyon, former president of the Korea Bar Association, also pointed out that there are "too many" organizations for surveillance and control, citing the NSP, the Defense Security Command, and the police.

Their expanded mechanisms should be streamlined, hopefully to be unified, and their functions should be confined to anti-espionage activity.

Along with the guarantee of a free press, he went on, early introduction of local autonomy is required as prerequisite to "solid democratization."

Besides the present one deputy prime minister for economic planning, he offered the establishment of one more for diplomacy and national security.

Hong Song-chol, a North Korean refugee representative, asserted denying upper hands of the presidential staff power over the Cabinet.

Kim Kyong-su, former president of Sungkyunkwan University, noted that the Education Minister has degraded authority of professors by ordering them to follow its directives, especially disciplinary measures against student activists, "without condition."

Meetings of officials from relevant organizations, held by the ministry to work out steps against student activism, had once been in the sway of an active Army colonel and reasonable opinion was usually turned down.

#### **ROK: Police Independence Reform Gains Momentum**

SK020045 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English  
2 Feb 88 p 8

[Editorial: "Police Independence"]

[Text] Police authority, based in bureaucratic administration, has unexpectedly become the target of a surging reform movement. DEMANDS for police independence and democratization have come from within policemen themselves, giving rise to serious repercussions in society.

It is true that the national police force has been under fire for its role as a servant to government power. Notwithstanding the reform moves that had gained power in the course of political transition in all sectors of national life, the police had shown little apparent interest in this fact.

Now, however, the release to the mass media of a confession by police lieutenant Yi Pyong-mu concerning the development and democratization of the police has led to a statement by the graduates and students of the National Police College demanding police independence. This has stirred up a public sensation and apparently tossed the police hierarchy to the horns of dilemma.

The police leadership, embarrassed at first, moved to take action against the junior but elite officials in a scheme to keep such moves from spreading. Fortunately, however, the junior officials' cause was backed up by the ruling Democratic Justice Party's sympathetic press statement, determining their stand to be reasonable.

Aside from questions about the propriety of procedures they relied on, their demands for independence from (?pwor) interference are quite proper at this transitional period. Such a reform movement has been slow to appear as far as the police are concerned, compared with other political, social, educational and cultural fields.

With the revelations in the notorious Pak Chong-chol torture-murder case and the sex-torture case involving a woman student, the police are at crossroad requiring them to make the grave determination that will keep them abreast with the current of democratic reforms.

Nevertheless police independence cannot be achieved with the mere declarations. First of all, police structure needs to be made independent of the Ministry of Home Affairs. Also required is the eradication of visible or invisible interference from such outside power organizations as the intelligence agency.

The most important requirements are the arming of police officials with the will to safeguard their independence and the painful self-reflection that leads them to wipe off the dishonor of being a cat's paw to government power.) To this end, pan-national cooperation both from other government agencies and the people as a whole is indispensable.

#### **ROK: Police Authorities To Discipline Junior Officers**

SK030319 Seoul THE KOREA TIMES in English  
3 Feb 88 p 3

[Text] The police have decided to take disciplinary action against junior police officers who recently demanded police independence outside due channels.

Police authorities said they fully understand the intention of the junior police officers, who are mostly graduates of the National Police College.

However, they should be more discreet in view of the nature of police, citing that channels are open to have their voices heard without reservation, police authorities said.

Recently, junior police officers held a meeting for the discussion of police neutrality and released a statement calling for police independence from outside influences, especially, political forces.

Lamenting that police force has not been faithful to its genuine duty of guaranteeing social order for the protection of citizens and their property, the young Turks sent the statement to the news media, stunning police officers in higher echelons.

A ranking police officer let on that the policemen involved in the writing and dissemination of the statement can hardly go unpunished in view of the discipline of the police organization.

Meantime, it was learned that junior police officers, who took a leading part in demanding police neutrality, visited ranking police officers and expressed apologies for having caused commotion even though their genuine intention was to make the police better serve the interest of the people.

Ranking police officers said the matter of police neutrality is not a thing to be achieved through writing a statement, revealing that the ruling camp is inclined to make corrections in police operations in step with the progress of democracy.

## ECONOMIC

**No Tae-u's Economic Policy Advisors Profiled**  
41070017 Seoul MAEIL KYONGJE SINMUN in  
Korean 24 Nov 87 p 2

[Article by reporter Kim Kyong-su]

[Text] Candidate No Tae-u values "harmony" most in managing people. This is his basic philosophy in handling people, and he held it when he was a soldier and as a politician he still holds it.

Accordingly, he is noted for not having a following of "cronies."

His policy slogan, a "great age for the ordinary people," that he puts forward contains his philosophy that he would place a premium on balanced harmony of 10 persons who possess ordinary common sense rather than on one superior man.

Candidate No's motto is "harmony and faith."

This is directly reflected in the decision making process of economic policy that has been put forward as his campaign pledge by candidate No.

Therefore, the economic vision that the Democratic Justice Party (DJP) is after is not created by the brain of a handful of persons but is derived from teamwork of policy making groups. The entire body of the policy making team functions as if it is candidate No's brain trust.

Unlike the opposition parties, the DJP especially capitalizes to a maximum extent on its strength as the ruling party and has a party-government policy coordination body with the policy making team as its conduit. Therefore, in a sense, much of the short- and long-term economic policies of the government are in fact reflected in the party's policy-making.

In this respect, such men as Kang Kyong-sik, head of the policy coordination office, who formulates policies and makes reports; Yi Chin, deputy head of the office, and

Assemblyman Ki Chong-in (PhD in economics) who was a former deputy head of the office, may be viewed as principal figures of the brain trust.

Kang, a graduate of the Seoul National University School of Law, who has had an illustrious career as the chief of the Budget, Price, and Planning Bureaus of the Economic Planning Agency (EPA), assistant vice minister of the EPA, minister of finance, and the chief of staff of the Office of the President, displays his skills, fruits of his over 2-decade-long government career in the field of economics, as a manager of economic policymaking for the party.

The economic initiatives known as "The Six Major Principles for the Realization of Economic Justice" and "The Six Major Policies for the Narrowing of the Gap Between the Rich and the Poor" that have recently been put forward by candidate No are reportedly authored by Kang.

Kang, as successor to Na Ung-pae, minister of commerce and industry, was picked to head the policy coordination office in August of last year, and when he served as the minister of finance he earned a name as a "hardliner" ("Kang Kyong Sik," the same sound as his name but it means "hardliner") because he introduced a series of surprise measures such as the "real name system" which stirred up a commotion, "the liberalization of the formation of the short-term credit companies," and "tax reform," but no one disputes his reputation as a "man of conviction."

He is also reputed to be a man who had contributed a great deal to laying the foundation for the Fifth Republic especially when he devoted unmatched energy to "stabilize prices" as he began to involve himself in running our economy.

Deputy chief Yi, who runs the office with Kang, also serves as the chief of the policy bureau. In fact, he plays a role as the new chief of the working staff of the team.

Deputy chief Yi, who once served as a member of the expert committee of the old Democratic Republican Party (DPR), assistant to the minister of political affairs, and chief of the Office of Situation Analyses of the National Policy Study Institute of the party, demonstrates his thorough and minute knowledge and ability as liaison between the head of the office Kang, above, and the members of the expert committee, below. He coordinates action between the government and the party.

Assemblyman Kim Chong-in who, although not directly involved in the party policy team, serves as a regular member of the national policy coordination committee and also has recently assumed the chairmanship of the Seoul Kwan-ak District Chapter of the party, is an economic theorist from academia who received his doctorate degree from Munster University in West Germany.

When he was a professor at Sokang University, the 26 October incident broke out. He soon joined the National Security Committee, and thus his relationship with the DJP began. From the very inception of the party, Kim has been deeply involved in the party's policy making process. In 1982, he opposed the implementation of the "real name system" and his opposition is known to have eventually played a decisive role in determining the party's position in favor of putting off the system.

In this respect, his theoretical position is different from that of Kang (who was then minister of finance) who pushed hard for the implementation of the "real name system."

But, out of a realistic consideration both of them are joined together and assist candidate No in the area of economic policy. These two men are faithfully and harmoniously carrying out their jobs in formulating the party's economic policies.

Different from these three men, Assemblyman Im Yong-tok, who serves as chairman of the economic subcommittee of the National Policy Evaluation Committee, is also reportedly assisting the party in policy making by using his bureaucratic experiences as the head of the Taxation Bureau in the Ministry of Finance, and assistant vice minister of the Agricultural Administration in the Ministry of Agriculture and Fishery.

The group which is supporting the economic brain trust for candidate No at the working level consists of the specialists in the policy coordination office. They are the bureaucrats at the bureau chief level who have long practical experiences in the economic bureaucracy.

These specialists not only contribute much to the policy formulation but also play a role as a bridge to the government agencies in their special areas and coordinate the government and the party.

The specialists in the area of the economy include: Yi Yong-sung, a financial specialist, who has served as chief of the Property Administration Bureau and the International Monetary Bureau of the Ministry of Finance; and Yi Chang-sun who has served as a fair trade councillor for the Economic Planning Agency, the chief of the Examination and Evaluation Bureau, and the Investigation and Statistical Bureau.

Also, Kim Tae-su, a specialist in Agriculture and Fishery, was a former chief of the Bureau of the Farmlands and the Bureau of the Agricultural and Fishery Products Circulations; Kim Tae-kun, a specialist in commerce and industry was a former chief of the Bureau of the Electronics and Electrical Industries; and Sim Kuk-mu, a specialist in health and welfare, had served as a specialist under the old DRP.

Yom Tae-sup, a specialist in transportation and communication, was a former chief of the Tourism Promotion Bureau, the Land Transportation Bureau, and the Transportation Coordination Bureau of the Ministry of Transportation; Kim Po-kun, a specialist in construction, had served as chief of the Taejon region national land management agency, and the Housing Bureau of the Ministry of Construction; Kim Yong-chi, a specialist in labor, had served as the head of the Central Employment Stability Office, and the director of the Labor Study Institute of the Ministry of Labor.

Chung Chin-yong, (former professor at Kukmin University) who works as a member of the National Policy Institute, also contributes to policy making from the periphery.

Candidate No, with such a team of experts behind him, makes pledges that are viable, and refines ideas that can be implemented when he comes to power. Reportedly, in order to sharpen his "economic sense," he maintains a communication channel with the Blue House specialists including Pak Yong-chul, head of the panel of economic specialists.

Especially, he has recently invited Sin Pyong-hyon who was a two-time deputy prime minister and the leader of economic stability, and Yu Ki-chong, president of the Central Association of the Medium and Small Industries Association as his advisors, and appointed Kim Manche, ex-deputy prime minister, to the National Policy Evaluation Committee. Thus, he has solidly organized a team of experts in the area of economics to work behind the scenes.

The economic views of his brain trust are directly reflected in the economic views of candidate No, and these views will evolve into economic policies when he assumes power. In this respect, the role of the brain trust is extremely important.

#### **Biographical Outlines of the Economic Braintrusts**

Kang Kyong-sik: age 51; Position: Head, Office of Policy Coordination (OPC); Education: Law school, Seoul National University (SNU); Experience: Chief, Bureaus of Price, Budget & Planning of the Economic Planning Agency (EPA), Assistant Vice Minister, Minister of Finance, Chief of Staff of the Office of the President

Yi Chin: age 45; Position: Deputy head, OPC; Education: Diplomacy, SNU; Experience: Member of the panel of experts under the old Democratic Republican Party (DRP), Assistant to the Minister of Political Affairs, and Chief of the Office of the Situation Analysis of the National Policy Institute

Kim Chong-in: age 47; Position: Regular member of the National Policy Coordination Committee; Education: Hankuk University of Foreign Studies; University of

Munster, W. Germany; Experience: Doctorate in Economics; Professor at Sokang University; Head, Office of the Policy Research of the National Policy Institute; Deputy Head, OPC

Im Yong-tok: age 54; Position: Chairman, Economic Subcommittee of the National Policy Evaluation Committee; Education: Political Science, SNU; Experience: Chief, Taxation Bureau & Customs Bureau, of the Ministry of Finance; Assistant Vice Minister of Agricultural Administration of the Ministry of Agriculture & Fishery; President, Licensed Tax Accounts Association

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### **ROK: DJP, Government Decide to Tighten Money Policy**

SK031231 Seoul YONHAP in English  
1223 GMT 3 Feb 88

[Text] Seoul, Feb. 3 (YONHAP)—Concerned about the risk of rising inflation, the government and the ruling Democratic Justice Party decided Wednesday to strengthen stringent money policy to help curb price rises.

The decision was made at a meeting between high-ranking officials from the administration and the ruling party, during which the total money supply growth target for this year was set at 18 percent level. The corresponding growth rate was projected at 18.8 percent last year.

The total money supply refers to the money in circulation plus demanding and savings deposits at banks.

For this, the government and the DJP decided to reduce a planned supplementary budget to less than 500 billion won (about 641 million u.s. dollars one u.s. dollar is worth about 780 won). the supplementary budget will be established in April to finance the projects to which President-elect No Tae-u committed himself during the 1987 election campaign.

The ruling camp also decided to maintain the inflation rate at 1.5 percent for wholesale prices and 5 percent for retail prices.

For the stock market, which has recently overheated, the government-DJP meeting reconfirmed the basic policy that the government should not directly intervene in the stock market.

The meeting decided that the government will make efforts to realize sound development of the stock market without rapid rise in stock prices.

The meeting was attended by deputy Prime Minister Chong In-yong, finance minister Sakong Il, Pak Yong-chol, senior presidential secretary for economic affairs, from the government and Kang Kyong-sik, chairman of the DJP's policy coordination council.

They also decided to issue monetary stabilization bonds worth 1.3 trillion won in february to siphon off the excessively floating liquidity.

Among decisions at the meeting was ways to hold this year's surplus of international balance of payments at 6 billion dollars level.

They also decided to establish a powerful measure to curb the speculation on real estate, which has been recently spreading nationwide.

### **Current Account Surplus Cushions Country's Economy**

41000012 Seoul NEWSREVIEW in English  
9 Jan 88 pp 11-12

[Text] The year of 1988 marks a watershed for the Korean economy to enter into a period of a stable international payments surplus.

After registering a \$4,617-million current account surplus in 1986 for the first time since 1977, the country's surplus in the balance of payments surged to about \$10 billion last year.

Despite such a spectacular performance, the Korean economy was not strong enough to cushion the effects of the changing international market climate, however.

"But now, with the remarkable achievement made during the last two years, the Korean economy has grown enough to cushion the shock-effect of external changes, and is ready for the second take-off," said a high-ranking government official.

Even though fast appreciation of the won's value, rising international raw material prices and the escalating protectionism by industrialized nations arise as negative factors before the smooth development of the Korean economy, local businesses have fostered their international competitiveness enough to sustain and further accelerate the ongoing growth pace, he added.

Thanks to the strenuous efforts of local businesses, the nation's commodity exports expanded by more than 32 percent to about \$46 billion last year from \$34.7 billion in 1986.

The surplus in the country's current account surged by more than 100 percent to over \$9 billion during the same period. The account sustained chronic deficits until 1985 with \$12.2 billion in 1980, \$20.7 billion in 1981, \$23.3 billion in 1983, \$26.4 billion in 1985 and \$33.9 billion in 1985. The figure, however, turned to a black-ink figure of \$4,617 million in 1986.

With the snowballing current account surplus, the nation's private and public enterprises actively paid back foreign loans, carrying unfavorable terms and conditions, ahead of schedule, with the result that they could reduce their interest burden, improve financial structures and strengthen international competitiveness.

"In this vein, Korea's economic development activities will not be discouraged due to some negative factors, and the nation will see more economic prosperity this year, setting up a strong foothold to enter the ranks of industrialized countries," said a financial expert.

The 1988 Summer Olympic Games scheduled for this year's September also will be one of the major factors behind the bright economic prospects for this year, he said.

Due to the active prepayments, the nation's external debt declined from \$46.8 billion at the end of 1985 to \$44.5 billion in 1986 and to about \$35.5 billion last year-end.

The figure expanded from \$20.3 billion in 1979 to \$27.2 billion in 1980, \$32.4 billion in 1981, \$37.1 billion in 1982, \$40.4 billion in 1983, \$43.1 billion in 1984 and reached a peak of \$46.8 billion in 1985.

Thanks to the declining foreign debt and lower international interest rates, the nation's interest payments for external debt also declined from \$3.7 billion in 1986 to less than \$3 billion last year.

The government is projected to confine the country's current account surplus to \$6 billion this year by actively increasing imports from the nations which sustain trade deficits with Korea, encouraging overseas investments by Korean businesses and prepaying a larger amount of external borrowings.

Without those positive measures, the current account surplus will amount to \$9 billion or higher this year, considering that the volume was higher than \$10 billion last year even though the government tried to confine the figure to \$6 billion.

The country's outstanding foreign debt also will dip to \$30 billion or lower this year as the government will actively retire its foreign loans ahead of schedule.

Under the sixth socioeconomic development plan, worked out early last year, the government had planned to increase the current account surplus from \$4.5 billion in 1986 to \$5 billion by the target year of 1991.

The country's external debt also had been planned to be reduced to \$41.8 billion by the end of 1987, \$39 billion in 1988, \$36.5 billion in 1989, \$34.5 billion in 1990 and \$32.9 billion by 1991.

"In the past, the accumulating external debt and the snowballing current account deficits were the most serious problems that the nation had to solve. But the remarkable economic achievement and the improved balance of international payments during recent years have enabled Korea to successfully overcome the difficulties, making the nation the most outstanding model of sound economic management and development," the financial expert said. By the end of this year, the name of Korea will be able to be delisted from the "heaviest debtor countries" in the world, he said.

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### **Background Information on Revision of Labor Laws, Key Points of Revision**

41070024 Seoul HYONDAE NOSA in Korean  
Dec 87 pp 46-55

[Information provided by the Ministry of Labor: "The Main Substance of the Revised or Newly Established Labor-Related Laws"]

#### **[Text] I. Introduction**

##### **1. Basic Background**

Entering the mid-1980's, as development became phenomenal in all areas, political, economic, and social, and as the pace of industrialization accelerated in our country, the workers' level of consciousness was raised and they came out with ever increasing demands, bringing with them changing labor-management relations and labor practices. Against this background, the labor-related laws have been revised, or new laws have been enacted to reflect the need for institutional improvements. These improvements are needed to realize the live-and-let-live relationship between labor and management by fostering the ability to settle labor disputes on their own initiative, by laying the foundation of labor-management autonomy, by improving employment terms and working conditions, and by raising the workers' living standard.

Particularly the latest revision of a number of labor-related laws and the enactment of new laws were based on the assemblymen-initiated bills which reflected the drafts proposed by the ruling and opposition parties and the opinions of all strata, including labor and business. The vigorous implementation of these laws by the government and the adaptive ability of labor and management will hold the key to achieving a better atmosphere of labor-management relations and developing these relations in the future.

##### **2. Significance of Amendments to Current Laws (and the Enactment of New Laws) to Us**

Since their enactment in 1953, the labor-related laws have been amended several times, and in addition, the labor-management cooperation law was enacted in 1980.

However, in the course of their implementation, particularly in view of the spate of labor disputes following the 29 June [No Tae-u] statement, the need has arisen yet to properly revise these laws in keeping with the rapid transition of our society to an industrialized one.

The readjustment of the system of labor-related laws in keeping with this change in the given condition will serve as a turning point in newly establishing more equitable and cooperative labor-management relations under the present circumstances in which there is a mix of value judgment common in the traditional paternal society and value judgment peculiar to the individualistic industrial society.

Particularly the establishment of the law providing for equal employment opportunity for men and women cannot but be an epochal event in view of reality in our country.

Nevertheless, inasmuch as ideal labor-management relations by nature can take hold only through the accumulation of long experiences and practices, it has been urged that along with institutional improvements, labor and management themselves direct particular attention and efforts at establishing the practices of good relations on their own initiative through constant, sincere dialogues and in various other ways, such as setting up fair "rules" governing their relations.

Particularly, "autonomy" on the part of labor and management as referred to in the revised laws is meant not as "self-indulgence or chaos" but as self-rule accompanied by the meticulous fulfillment of their respective responsibilities and duties, each respecting the other's rights, namely the right of labor and that of management. Bearing this in mind, labor and management should establish new and better relations between them.

With the latest revision of the laws as a momentum, the improper practice of settling labor disputes in wanton disregard of the process of law as in the past should be rectified, and the government for its part will play a vital role in dealing with this kind of erroneous behavior, from the point of view of establishing a new order of labor-management relations. Now is the time for labor, management, and government to make unceasing efforts to make mature laws and labor-management practices take hold and create the ideal labor-management relations which will enable the two sides to live and let live. Only this will pave the way for us to leap into an advanced industrialized society.

## II. Collective Labor-Relations Laws

### 1. Trade Union Law

By making it possible for workers to form trade unions by their free will, the law will increase the autonomy of trade unions and insure democracy in trade unions and their independent operation by strengthening their right to collective bargaining and by minimizing interference by government agencies.

### 2. Labor Dispute Mediation Law

This law drastically eases restrictions on permitting strikes in order to enable workers to exercise their right to collective action as an effective means of collective bargaining in a timely fashion, while insuring dispatch and expertise in labor administration by, among other things, entrusting the labor relations board with the function of mediating in labor disputes. At the same time, the law introduces an optional mediation system for settling labor disputes by other means than invoking this law when agreed upon by the two parties, thereby providing them with an opportunity to address their disputes by themselves independently.

### 3. Labor-Management Conference Law

This law precludes interference by management in selecting labor members of the labor-management conference and secures their activities, so that they can play a role as the genuine representatives of the workers. It also strengthens the functions of the labor-management conference by listing additional matters that can be brought before the conference and by expanding the reporting requirements of employers.

## III. Individual Labor-Relations Laws

### 1. Labor Standard Law

To secure wage payment, namely to secure the cost of living for workers, this law requires the employer to give the highest priority to paying off the last 3 months' back pay while reducing the working hours to enable the workers to enjoy cultural activities commensurate with their improved consciousness.

### 2. Law on Sexual Equality in Employment

This law prohibits discrimination against women in labor-intensive sectors of production; restrictions on women's training or employment opportunity for specialized technological jobs; and unwarranted discrimination against women in wages without regard to their ability. At the same time, it insures equal opportunity and equal pay for men and women in accordance with the doctrine of equality as provided for by the Constitution; and helps to protect women employees having young children, develop women's vocational capabilities, and improve their status and welfare. [end of introduction]

### 1. Trade Union Law

#### A. Organizational Structures of Trade Unions Strengthened

The revision of this law allows workers to choose the type of trade union they want. This might result in organizing more than one trade union in the same business organization. However, by eliminating the possibility of organizing new unions in addition to the union that already exists in the same business organization, the revised law prevents more than one trade union to be formed to deal with the same business organization in bargaining, thereby seeking to maintain system and order in union organizations. The provision in Paragraph 5, Article 3, of the draft revision that "in case several unions have the same business organization to deal with..." prohibits an additional union from being organized to overlap the union that already exists to deal with the same firm as its object as stipulated in its by-law.

The revised law allows those workers who are in litigation over the validity of their dismissal orders to qualify for union membership, thereby precluding any chance for the employer to interfere with the formation of a trade union through personnel action.

#### B. Freedom to Organize Trade Unions

A. The revision strikes out the old provisions concerning the form of trade unions and the requirements for their formation and leaves these matters to the free choice of the workers, thereby living up to the spirit of the constitutional provision guaranteeing the right of organization.

However, in some quarters there are criticisms against the deletion of the provision on the requirements for the formation of a trade union, on the grounds that it opens the way for two or more workers to form a union and this would result in chaos in trade unions. But, in practice, to form a union, there should be an executive body including the representative; so a 2-member union will be impracticable. Therefore, the amendment of this article should be viewed as intended to lift the former restrictive requirements for the formation of a trade union. (Article 13)

Under the current law, in filing a letter of notification upon the formation of a trade union, the minutes of the inaugural meeting, the by-law, and the personal histories of the executive officers of the union must also be submitted. But the revision simplifies this procedure and makes it easier to file the letter of notification. In addition, by the revision, the period required for the issuance of a written certificate of receipt of the notification has been drastically reduced from 10 days to 3 days, enabling a newly organized trade union to begin its normal activities soon after its formation. (Article 15)

#### C. Democratization of Trade Union Operation

The revised law has an additional provision requiring trade unions to clearly state in their by-laws what constitutes important matters concerning their operation as a business organization, in order to prevent the union executives from operating their unions in an arbitrary manner, insure democracy in unions, and forestall organizational disputes. (Article 14)

#### D. Union Autonomy Guaranteed

Under the current law, the by-law or any resolution of a trade union is subject to nullification or modification in case it is prejudicial to the public interest, not alone when it is illegal. This has raised fears that such an all-inclusive provision may lead to the misuse of discretionary powers by the administration agencies concerned. To dissipate these fears, the revision limits the cause for such nullification or modification to cases of illegality. To insure the autonomy of trade unions and eliminate interference by government organizations in trade union affairs, the system of limiting the qualifications of union executives, as well as that of ordering trade unions to be disbanded, or ordering the reshuffling of trade union executives, has been eliminated. In addition, the following additional provisions have been included to expand the autonomy of trade unions: a provision minimizing the inspection of trade unions by government organizations and allowing the government to have trade unions submit necessary papers for examination only in cases where inspection is warranted; and a provision leaving the auditing of the financial accounts of the trade unions to trade unions themselves. (Articles 16, 21, 23, 30 and 32)

#### E. Procedures for Delegating Collective Bargaining Rights Simplified and the Effective Term of Collective Agreements Shortened

To improve the practicability of the system of empowering union officials with the right to conduct collective bargaining, the revision requires such empowerment to be made by a resolution of a general meeting or a meeting of delegates and obligates trade unions to notify the government of such empowerment instead of filing a report. The revision also shortens the effective period of collective agreements to 2 years so that the shortcomings of long-term agreements can be avoided and working conditions can be adapted to changing economic conditions. (Articles 33 and 35)

#### F. "Union Shops" Allowed

By maintaining cooperative power balance between labor and management through the enhancement of the unity within trade unions, the revision insures adequate working conditions and trade unions' power of representation. The revised law allows a "union shop" only when the number of union members exceeds two-thirds of the total workers; and in order not to permit trade unions unilaterally to set up union shops, it makes the setting up of such shops subject to collective bargaining

between labor and management. Furthermore, for the purpose of preventing the union executives from depriving any union member who are against them of his union membership as a means of removing him from his employment, the revision forbids the employer to discharge or take otherwise disadvantageous action against the expelled union member. Thus the revision provides a means to guarantee job security to workers. (Article 39)

## 2. Labor Dispute Mediation Law

### A. Restrictions on Strikes Eased

(1) The category of public-interest firms has been narrowed (Article 4). Strikes in public utility firms, unlike those in ordinary firms, may be subject to arbitration for settlement, or may be restricted or banned outright by arbitration. Therefore, in defining the category of public-interest firms as referred to by this law, it is appropriate to use as the criterion the question of whether a particular type of firm is really vital to the daily life of the public and to the national economy. From this point of view, the revision minimizes the category in question by excluding the coal industry, firms producing fuel for industrial use, and exchange firms—all of which are not so vital—from the category of public-interest firms; by changing "transportation service" to "public transportation service"; and by limiting the list of public-interest firms to only those industries which are indispensable to the daily life of the public or the suspension or elimination of whose service will noticeably endanger the national economy.

(2) The extent of the ban on strikes has been curtailed (Article 12). Special caution should be exercised in limiting strikes because such limitation would amount to an abridgment of the basic rights of the workers. Some of state-run firms or public corporations by their very nature are not so vital to public life as to warrant a ban on strikes against them. For this reason, the revision excludes these nonvital public corporations from the strike ban list. In case of the defense industry, with a view to limiting the strike ban to only those defense firms for which it is absolutely necessary to ban strikes from the national security point of view, the revision specifies this limit by changing the wording to read: "defense industry firms as specified by the extraordinary measures law on defense industry firms."

However, the strike ban on public servants, namely, workers employed by the state and local governments, is preserved as it is, on the grounds that if public servants were allowed to strike, it would greatly hamper the daily life of the public and the national economy in view of their special relationship with state power and in consideration of the peculiarity of their status as ones performing important state functions.

(3) The cooling period and the period during which strikes are otherwise restricted have been shortened (Articles 4, 28, 31, and 41). The revision, by drastically

reducing the cooling period or the period in which strikes are restricted, makes it possible to use a strike on time as a lever of collective bargain. In addition, the revision also reduces strike restrictions associated with arbitration or emergency mediation by requiring it to be concluded sooner, thus eliminating room for strikes to drag on and for strife between labor and management to be aggravated.

This paves the way for rectifying the past erroneous practice of launching a strike in disregard of the cooling period, a practice commonly known as "sit-in first, bargaining later," and for establishing the practice of resorting to a strike—in case disputes arises over collective bargaining—only when no settlement is reached until the cooling period has expired.

### B. The Labor Dispute Mediation and Arbitration System Improved in a Reasonable Way

(1) Mediatory functions have been transferred to the labor relations board so that the board alone may play the mediatory role (Article 18). In the past, municipal and provincial governments have handled mediation proceedings, but due to lack of expertise, their role has been inadequate. In view of this, the revision provides that the labor relations board, a specialized organization, be entrusted with all matters relating to mediation and arbitration in labor disputes, in order that mediation and arbitration may produce better results. In addition, under the revised law, a list of prospective mediators will be prepared in advance, and from this list, those whom both parties to the dispute agree to choose as mediators will be appointed as such. Thus the revision seeks to improve the effectiveness of the mediation proceedings by respecting the wishes of the interested parties.

As a consequence, with improvements in their expertise in mediation, the mediators will enjoy greater trust as more labor disputes are referred to the labor relations board for settlement.

(2) Administration agencies are no longer authorized to examine the legality of applications for mediation (Paragraph 2, Article 16). Mediatory functions, including exercising good offices, are intended as a service to the parties to the labor dispute; accordingly, it is not right to reject the application for mediation simply because the application procedure is wrong. When an application for mediation has been filed, it is deemed appropriate immediately to begin necessary mediation proceedings. For this reason, the law has been revised so that when, in the course of mediation proceedings, it is found that the dispute will be better settled by other legal procedures, the parties will be given necessary guidance and assistance in taking these procedures for settlement.

(3) The uniform period of mediation has been abolished (Article 20). With the mediatory functions transferred to the labor relations board and with the cooling period drastically shortened, the current uniform period of

mediation has been abolished to give flexibility in setting different periods necessary for mediation for different disputes according to the circumstances surrounding each case. In case there is no hope for settlement of the dispute through mediation, the mediators are required immediately to report the state of the mediation proceedings to the labor relations board, along with their opinions, so that the next step, namely arbitration, may be taken without delay.

(4) Arbitrators are to be chosen by agreement between the parties to the dispute (Paragraph 3, Article 32). Arbitration has the same legal effect as a collective agreement, binding the both disputing parties. For this reason, in order that the objectivity and trustworthiness of arbitration may be increased, the revision provides that the board of arbitration will be comprised of persons chosen by agreement between the two parties, instead of unilaterally naming arbitrators by the chairman of the labor relations board as under the current law.

(5) An optional mediation system has been introduced (Paragraph 2, Article 5). It is most desirous for labor and management to settle their collective dispute over their conflicting interests on their own initiative. It is not only next to impossible but also inappropriate, theoretically and practically, to settle through the public mediation machinery all the numerous labor disputes which often arise in the transition to a highly industrialized society. For this reason, the revision allows the disputing parties, if they so desire, to settle their dispute through a third party and by other means of good offices, mediation, or arbitration than provided for by this law, with a view to respecting the opinions of the interested parties as much as possible and establishing the practice of settling labor disputes on the initiative of the interested parties themselves.

### 3. Joint Labor-Management Conference

#### A. Independent Operation of the Joint Labor-Management Conference Guaranteed

The revision, by striking out the provision disqualifying union representatives to the conference for some reasons, insures democracy for the joint labor-management conference and clears the way for selecting men of great ability and originality as members of the conference of the joint conference representing labor.

In addition, the revision leaves no room for the fears or criticism that civil servants attend meetings of the joint conference, issue orders to it, or otherwise interfere with the operation of the conference, thereby insuring that the conference will play an active role as an independent forum for labor and management.

#### B. Fairness in Selecting Labor Members and Their Activities Assured

(1) In relation to the operation of the joint labor-management conference, a new provision on the duties of the employer has been set forth (Paragraph 2, Article 10). This provision forbids the employer to intervene or interfere in the selection of labor members of the joint labor-management conference, thereby enabling workers to elect by their own free will the persons whom they really trust and respect as their conference representatives and thus assuring that the members thus elected really represent the employees at the conference. In addition, the new provision enables the conference to operate in a more substantial manner by requiring the employer to provide the labor representatives with a meeting place or other assistance in performing their duty as members of the joint labor-management conference, so that on the basis of the majority opinions of the workers they have collected or through discussions with the workers, they can come up with creative ideas and opinions as to how to develop the business of their employer or how to promote the welfare of the workers.

(2) New provisions have been added to order remedial steps in case the employer fails to fulfill his duties (Paragraph 3, Article 10; and Paragraph 2, Article 31). These provisions form the basis for administration agencies to take remedial steps when labor members of the labor-management conference are subjected to an undue disciplinary action in connection with their activities at the conference or when the employer has interfered in the selection of these members. This measure is intended to protect the practical interests and activities of the labor members of the conference and insure fairness in their selection, so that the conference may operate not radically, but effectively.

#### C. Subjects of Consultation and the Employers' Reporting Requirements Expanded

(1) Additional matters have been added to the subjects of consultation (Article 21). In the list of subject matters of consultation, "matters on improving the system of personnel and labor management to operate it in a more reasonable way" have been added. This measure is intended to stabilize labor-management relations by making the employer understand the importance of labor management as his first and foremost duty as the person primarily responsible for labor-management relations and strive to improve the labor management system and rules upon full consultation with his employees, so that he can resolve their difficulties and grievances on the one hand and serve as a catalyst in achieving cooperation between labor and management on the other.

(2) More items have been added to the employer's reporting requirements (Article 21). The current reporting requirements on business operations have been expanded to cover "matters related to the whole spectrum of operational planning and the results of its implementation," and "matters related to the economic and financial state of the business" have been added to the reporting requirements. This measure is intended to

eliminate the apple of discord and help improve labor-management relations by making the employer sincerely let his employees fully informed of the actual condition of his business so that the employees may negotiate with him on the basis of this knowledge.

#### 4. Labor Standard Law

##### A. The System of Guaranteeing Wage Payment Improved (Paragraph 2, Section 2, Article 30)

Under the current system of preferential payment of wage obligations, taxes and public levies have priority over pledges and mortgages, which in turn have priority over wages payable. Accordingly, in the past, when a business went bankrupt through sloppy management or when the employer went into hiding, it was practically impossible for the employees to obtain the payment of their back pay because no financial resources were left after covering the taxes, public levies, and mortgages the business owed.

Particularly, those firms which had been in the red for an extended period of time had a large amount of wages in arrears and ended up in bankruptcy. There were 983 cases of unpaid wages in 1985 and 826 such cases in 1986. These cases touched off collective labor strife in demand of the payment of the back pay. In some cases, there were no assets were left to cover the back pay, and this became a social issue.

In view of this situation, the government has invoked strong administrative power to try to secure the payment of wages in arrears. However, in revising the Labor Standard Law this time, the government has gone one step further and has institutionalized a system which guarantees the payment of at least the last 3 months' pay out of the total wages remaining unpaid due to bankruptcy or for some other reasons, by giving preference to such wage payment over the payment of taxes and public levies, not to mention payment of pledges and mortgages.

##### B. Working Hours Shortened (Paragraph 2, Article 42, Providing Irregular Working Hours Deleted)

Inasmuch as working hours provide a yardstick for measuring how much room is allowed for workers to enjoy their health and cultural life, the 8-hour workday as specified in this law should be firmly established.

In the past, for cases where it was unavoidable to extend the working hours because of the peculiarities of a certain types of business, such as the necessity to meet the deadline for loading export goods bound for overseas, a system of irregular working hours has been allowed to exceed an 8-hour workday and a 48-hour workweek, provided that the parties concerned so agree. However, this system has been abused by employers to

force a long workday on their employees. Therefore, this provision allowing such an irregular workday system has been abolished in the revision.

With a minimum wage system scheduled to go into effect next year as a result of the revision of the current Labor Standard Law, the government plans to strictly oversee the improvement of the wage systems of enterprises and the enforcement of the working hours in accordance with the law, so that the total working hours set by the law may not be exceeded even when workers put in extra hours by agreement with their employer.

For the purpose of reducing long working hours, the following measures have been incorporated in the revision:

—The number of working hours a day is limited to 8 hours in principle.

—Enterprises which require 24-hour operation by the very nature of their business shall adopt a three-shift system.

—In case overtime or holiday work is unavoidable, the limit of extended working hours permitted by the law shall not be exceeded, and such overtime or holiday work is allowed only after a written agreement by the majority of the workers has been obtained.

The government will prevent employers from unilaterally depriving their employees of legal leave, such as annual leave, monthly sickness leave, and maternity leave in return for not taking such leave, and will also solicit workers to use their leave.

#### 5. Law on Sexual Equality in Employment

##### 1. Significance of the Enactment of the Law on Sexual Equality in Employment

Traditionally, the economic activities of the women in our country have been confined to household work or family businesses. In recent years in our country, the sphere of women's employment has greatly expanded in keeping with the drastic changes taking place in the economic and social conditions and in the perception of economic activity in general. Even so, the deep-rooted traditions and conventions are still working not only as a considerable restraint, directly and indirectly, on the employment of women but also as an impediment placed in the way of eradicating the practice of discrimination against women in employment. In view of this reality, this law has been enacted with a view to insuring equal opportunity and equal treatment for men and women, protecting women employees with dependent children, and developing women's occupational capabilities, so that it can contribute to the betterment of the women's status and promote their welfare.

To be specific, for the protection of the women, Chapter 5 of the current Labor Standard Law provides the following measures:

- (a) A ban on the employment of women on jobs unethical or hazardous to their health.
- (b) A ban on their nighttime work.
- (c) Restrictions on their overtime work.
- (d) A ban on their work in pits.
- (e) A monthly sickness leave for women.
- (f) A maternity leave.
- (g) A break in work for child care.
- (h) A paid visit to their hometowns.

On top of all these, the sexual equality law has been enacted to better protect the maternal functions of women and further realize equality between the sexes in terms of employment, including the terms of hiring.

## 2. Scope of Application

This law is applicable to the industries or workplaces which come under the Labor Standard Law, except for industries and workplaces as otherwise specified by the President and except where otherwise provided for by other laws.

## 3. New Measures of Protection Provided by the Law on Sexual Equality in Employment

This law provides for equal opportunity for men and women in recruiting and hiring workers and forbids discrimination against women in the training, job assignment, and promotion on the sexual ground.

Article 5 of the Labor Standard Law voids any discrimination against women in retirement and discharge on the sexual ground and any employment contract which makes marriage, pregnancy, or childbirth the ground for the termination of women's employment. The Law on Sexual Equality in Employment subjects such discrimination or contract to a fine of 2.5 million won.

The Labor Standard Law provides for a paid 60-day maternity leave, whereas the Law on Sexual Equality in Employment provides that when a mother having an infant less than 1 year old applies for an extended leave of absence for child care, the employer shall grant such leave of absence for a period not exceeding 1 year including the paid leave following the child birth. In addition, to help women employees continue on their jobs, the employer is required to provide necessary child care facilities, such as a feeding room and a nursery (the establishment of a firm-operated nursery required).

## 4. Settlement of Dispute Through Mediation

When the employee receives grievances from an women employee on matters concerning recruiting, hiring, training, placement, promotion, retirement, resignation, dismissal, leave for child care, child care facilities, he is supposed to make voluntary efforts to address the grievances by referring them to the grievance body in his won firm. However, when this voluntary effort fails and the employer asks the head of the local labor administration for help in resolving the grievances, the case will be referred to the employment affairs mediation board for settlement.

13311

## SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY

### Chun Urges R&D Investment Hike to 5of GNP 41120001 Seoul NEWS REVIEW in English 19 Dec 87

[Text] President Chun Do Hwan said Dec 11 that the government will gradually increase investment in research and development projects to five percent of the gross national product.

Chun said advancement in the science and technology field is a key to the success of national development in the future.

Addressing the first National Science Prize Award ceremony at the Seoul Sejong Cultural Center, the President said the government will intensively aid scientists and researchers.

The nation will secure some 150,000 scientific researchers in the near future, representing 0.3 percent of the total population.

He pointed out that many advanced nations hesitate about transferring their high technologies to developing countries as international competition is becoming heated.

"Combined efforts of the government and private sectors should be made to develop science and natural resources," Chun said.

He said the only way to strengthen national power and improve our living standards is to foster science and technology as well as manpower.

"Therefore, the Fifth Republic has concentrated its efforts on science and technology development from the beginning," he said.

The investment ratio of R&D projects to GNP increased from 0.9 percent in 1980 to 2 percent last year, he added.

/9274

**Domestic Steel Industry Grows to Fifth in World**  
*41070012 Seoul MAEIL KYONGJE SINMUN in  
Korean 12 Nov 87 p 7*

[Article by Yi Chung-kon: "Steel Production Leaps to Fifth"]

[Text] Pohang Iron & Steel Company (POSCO) has made its final decision to go forward with construction of its Kwangyang 3 steel plant.

The company has put its reputation on the line, by confirming a massive investment plan that will fundamentally resolve the problem of the inadequate domestic supply of steel products and balance growth in the entire country.

POSCO proposes construction of the Kwangyang 3 plant to begin in October 1989, investing the massive sum of 1,835,800,000 won, including 1,376,700,000 won in domestic capital and \$613 million in foreign capital.

However, company officials explain that the large-scale engineering work will begin a year earlier than originally scheduled. From a planning standpoint, October 1989 was set as the date, but because construction on the Kwangyang 2 facility will be completed next October, there will be ample surplus capability to proceed directly with construction of Kwangyang 3.

In particular, with domestic steel shortages continuing as they have recently, there will be no reason to delay start of construction, the officials explain.

Major facilities to be built during construction of the Kwangyang 3 plant include a high temperature furnace with 3.8 cubic meter capacity (slightly larger than the 3.4 cubic meter high temperature furnace at the POSCO plant), two rotary furnaces capable of handling 250 tons of ingots per hour, and two continuous casting ovens, as well as steel rolling facilities capable of manufacturing 13 million tons of hot rolled coil annually.

In addition, government-assisted projects valued at 36.4 billion won for extension of wharf rail line spurs and road construction are to proceed concurrently.

With completion of this construction, which will have a 2.7 million ton rolled steel manufacturing capacity, our country will rise to sixth in world in steel production.

When we reach a total steel-making capability of 23.4 million tons, we will be included in the ranks of major steel producing nations, following the Soviet Union, Japan, the United States, China, and West Germany.

In particular, Pohang Iron & Steel, having an annual steel-making capacity of 17.2 million tons, will become the fifth ranking exclusively steel producing plant in the world, and will have grown to become the second largest large-scale steel enterprise outside the communist bloc, after Nippon Steel Corp.

Moreover, the gap with Soviet steel plants that are ranked second, third, and fourth in the world will be narrowed to about 800,000 tons.

The need for construction of the Kwangyang 3 plant has been repeatedly stressed for some time.

This is because the domestic demand for steel has steadily increased with improvement of the domestic industrial structure and continuous economic growth. In particular, the rapid growth of steel consuming industries, such as shipbuilding, the automotive industry, and electronics, has brought an acceleration in the imbalance between supply and demand.

In fact, even this year, domestic steel demand is estimated at 19.63 million tons, but the supply capacity has remained at 16 million tons.

If this trend were to continue, with no increase in steel making facilities, shortfalls would reach 4.4 million tons in 1991, 7.1 million tons in 1993, and 10.55 million tons in 1995.

Moreover, if one takes into consideration the trend toward large-scale reductions in facilities in major steel countries like Japan, the United States, and Europe, the decision to begin work on the Kwangyang 3 facility carries considerable significance.

Another factor forcing this decision is the rapid increase in prices of steel products.

The import price of hot rolled coil, for example, was \$275 per ton during the fourth quarter last year, but over the year to the fourth quarter this year it jumped 19.3 percent, to \$328 per ton.

In the end, the decision to start construction on the Kwangyang 3 plant may be seen as unavoidable, in order to provide an early solution to the pattern of insufficient domestic steel materials and to assure competitiveness on the part of steel-consuming industries.

Construction of the Kwangyang 3 plant will be on a scale which will have a massive effect on the domestic industry.

For example, production will reach a total of 2.67 trillion won, comprising 726 billion won in total production by the steel industry itself, and some 1.94 trillion won in production by other industries. The hoped for effect on value added is to reach 0.4 percent of the 1992 GNP, or 58.9 billion won.

Moreover, after construction is completed and normal production is begun in 1992, foreign exchange receipts of \$1.26 billion will be possible, comprising \$246 million in exports and a reduction of \$780 million in foreign currency required due to import substitution effects.

Apart from growth in related industries, there will be a massive extended effect on the national economy as a whole which will include an increase of some 58,000 jobs per year, and other benefits.

In particular, the company has decided to increase the domestic production capacity of the Kwangyang 3 facility to 60 percent, surpassing the domestic content ratios of the number 1 and number 2 plants (at 49.4 percent and 55.4 percent, respectively).

When construction on Kwangyang 3 is completed, the overall capacity of the Kwangyang steel plant will reach 810 million tons, approaching the 910 million ton capacity of the plant at Pohang and making possible promotion of large-scale port construction such as container wharves. Thus it is highly likely that the Kwangyang district will rise up to become a new city on the southern coast.

Considered in terms of the development of the international steel industry, the domestic steel companies, though facing a period of growth, must make expanded management efforts of all types in order to ensure the ability to compete on an ongoing basis.

We must build our own capabilities and avoid following in the steps of advanced steel making countries, which neglected the replacement of obsolescent facilities, the development of technology for new and advanced facilities, and other efforts to strengthen their competitiveness.

POSCO will become a truly Korean enterprise, in reality as well as in name, when priority is given to bold investment in advanced fields while making resources secure and diversifying export lines.

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## FOREIGN RELATIONS, TRADE

**Letter to U.S. Ambassador Discusses Trade**  
*SK040521 Seoul CHOSON ILBO in Korean*  
4 Feb 88 p 3

["Desk Column" article by economic desk editor Choe Chun-myong: "A Letter to Ambassador Lilley"]

[Text] The Role of a Salesman [subhead]

Esteemed Ambassador James Lilley:

It was on 14 November 1986, close to the end of the year, when you arrived in Korea to assume your post as U.S. ambassador to Korea. For some time, soon after your arrival, you did not make any appearance in public gatherings. However, you appeared in succession at meetings of industrialists and businessmen beginning from February of the following year. At these meetings, you drew the attention of the Korean people by explaining the U.S. economic policy and by stating your own opinion on economic issues as a whole.

Although your speeches at those meetings, entitled "A Review of Korean-U.S. Relations" and "Korean-U.S. Economic Relations," were comprehensive ones, you discussed in considerable detail such things as "why does Korea prevent the import of American beer by building a high tariff barrier to American beer?" Also, you complained that Korea's restrictions on the import of U.S.-manufactured personal computers was unfair.

After hearing your complaints, many Koreans profoundly pondered the points you made. Many people also tried to understand the situation the United States was in. In other words, they tried to understand the extent to which the United States has accumulated trade and fiscal deficits, the so-called twin deficits, which must have goaded the U.S. ambassador to Korea to talk about soon after he arrived. After seeing you, a diplomat, go to such lengths as playing the role of a salesman regarding such particular matters as beer and computers, many people in Korea shuddered at the thought of the seriousness of the global trade war. Above all, we wondered whether our diplomats abroad were as devoted to their national interests as you appeared to be.

At any rate, in about a year since you came to Korea, you, Mr Ambassador, have witnessed the worst Korea-U.S. trade feuds since the two countries established diplomatic relations. We can easily imagine how you must have agonized over and taken trouble in defending U.S. interests and in easing trade frictions between Korea and the United States. However, in about a year since you came to Korea, the Korean people have enormously agonized over and suffered from trade feuds with the United States as in the past.

In some cases, their agony and suffering have developed to the point of terror. No wonder. As often as it could, the United States threatened to invoke Section 301 of the U.S. Trade Act and not a day went by without the United States coming up with new demands.

Moreover, a U.S. company is now lobbying to join in the supply of food service on passenger planes, while the U.S. poultry industrial sector is raising voices calling on Korea to open its market.

### Is Section 301 of the U.S. Trade Act a Cure-All?

News on new U.S. demands that Korea collect all American books and burn them and that an investigation should be conducted to determine whether or not

the sales of Korean automobiles in the United States are a dumping act reached our ear the next day. The U.S. pressure on Korea is making it impossible to explore the sale of U.S. goods in Korea and it is making it impossible to stop worrying about the settlement of one issue because the next day the United States would come up with another demand. As a result, Korea is now filled with frustration and helplessness, with the Korean people believing that "Korea has no choice but to meet the U.S. demands in full in the end."

Many among the U.S. demands are just and fair, while some are unjust, unreasonable, and excessive. Let us leave this for a while. The continuing U.S. demands of and pressure on Korea over the past few years force us to ask a question: What is the United States to us?

The United States is a great country. Whatever people may say about it, the United States is still the strongest in the world in terms of its GNP and economic strength. On top of this, the United States maintains a powerful military. It is not because of this that the United States is considered a great nation. Its greatness, we believe, lies in that it is a country that defends freedom and democracy, the common value of mankind, and because it has the excellent self-purifying and self-healing capability with which it can keep itself healthy at all times by accommodating criticism, the preservatives of democracy, and through checks and balances. I presume that you, Mr Ambassador, would know about Prof (C. Wright Mills) who is a well-known American idealist.

In the early sixties, by publishing the book "Listen, Yankees!," he conveyed the voice of Cuba to Americans. The content of the book was the denunciation of Yankee imperialism, which made the Americans uneasy and unhappy to hear. Criticizing the United States and U.S. policies, Prof (Mills) said "Yankees, you are really unaware of the situation of the hungry nations. The story about today's Cuba will become the story about another South American country of tomorrow." Reading "Listen, Yankees!," I felt a new shock. I felt that the United States could not but remain a great country, as long as it had such an intellectual as Prof (Mills), who did not hesitate to give bitter advice and criticism for his beloved country, instead of resisting against the condemnation of "Yankee imperialism."

Nonetheless, these days, I cannot but have an impression that I hear only one American voice in the U.S. trade policy, particularly in its trade issues with the developing countries.

Gephardt, representative from Missouri, who is trying to run in the U.S. presidential election, has reportedly enhanced his popularity and become a forerunner among the seven rivals by appearing in a 1-minute television advertisement emotionally attacking the status of South Korea's market opening; in other words, by using South Korea as a scapegoat.

According to a poll of American businessmen, 70% of the respondents have reportedly suggested that "pressure for the opening of overseas markets," should be used as a means to reduce the U.S. trade deficit.

#### **Persistence in the Logic of the Strong**

There is concern that the United States, the richest country in the world, may become the No 1 debtor nation in the world. So, Koreans understand the desperate efforts of the United States such as the pressure for the opening of overseas markets, which is designed to reduce its financial and trade deficits. This is because Korea itself has long remained as a heavy debtor. However, Korea has neither faced a moratorium nor lost its overseas credibility. It has continued to steadily pay its debts with interests, to its creditors, most of which are American banks. Korea has now come to have a surplus in its international balance of payments and, as a result, has reached a stage where it can assume its duties and responsibilities in the international community. It has also become a society mature enough to know that trade should be conducted reciprocally.

It understands what the United States desires, and is making preparations to accommodate it. Nonetheless, there are many things which ceaseless pressure or demands alone cannot settle. Under these circumstances, I think it is not the storm of pressure but the warm sunshine that undresses the overcoat.

We will not respond emotionally to the United States for complaining of its trade deficit with Korea, though we did not complain over our deficit with the United States in the past. For our national interests, both sides should work with heart-warming efforts but we know it is desirable to have cool-headedness for mutual business. I hope that Koreans will not come to have an impression that the United States doggedly persists in the logic of the strong and seeks an emotional countermeasure. Korea knows that it should cherish and understand the United States, and that trade should be conducted reciprocally.

I wish you good luck.

#### **Piracy Reputation Expected To Be Erased By Revised Copyright Act**

41000011 Seoul NEWSREVIEW in English  
26 Dec 87 pp 26-27

[Text] After two years of trouble, Korea became a formal signatory of the Universal Copyright Convention (UCC) Oct. 1, 1987.

The Copyright Act, which had undergone an overall amendment for the first time since its promulgation in 1957, became effective July 1.

Now that the revision has come into force, those engaged in the cultural and artistic industries—particularly book publishers—have no option but to shoulder the heavy financial burden stemming from royalty payments to the authors of the works they intend to use.

The revised law consists of 103 articles categorized into nine chapters and eight addenda.

Chapter 1 prescribes the purpose of the law, the definitions of the terms used in the law, and the principle of foreign copyrights protection.

Chapter 2 details the examples of the works to be protected, authorship presumption, and authors' personal and property rights plus their protection period.

Chapter 3 deals with the right of publication and Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 with neighboring rights and special provisions concerning cinematography works, respectively.

Chapter 6 illuminates the copyright agency business, while Chapter 7 is about the deliberation on copyrights and conciliation of disputes.

The remaining two chapters are made up of provisions on the infringements of rights and penal provisions.

The law extended the posthumous protection period of copyrights to 50 years from the previous 30 years and strengthened the punitive measures to be taken against those who encroach on the copyrights of original authors.

One of the most salient characteristics of the revised law is the establishment of neighboring rights. Stage performances, phonograph records and broadcasting are protected as neighboring rights under the law until 20 years after the copyright owner's death.

In addition to provisions for copyright protection, the revised Copyright Act stipulates in detail the restrictions on author's property rights.

When necessity arises for judicial proceedings, legislative or administrative purposes, any work may be reproduced without permission from or royalty payment to the original authors, on condition that the property right of the author concerned is not unreasonably abridged.

The Copyright Act is also characterized by the copyright agency business system. Any person can operate an agency, mediator or trustee for a person holding rights protected under the law with permission from the Minister of Culture and Information.

The law, in the meantime, carries clauses for use of works when the owner of the author's property rights is unknown or does not agree.

As Korea joined the Universal Copyright Convention Oct. 1, local artists used to pirating foreign artistic works will have to give up their longstanding habits.

Among other culture industries, bookmakers are the ones most strongly affected by the new Copyright Act.

Publication experts express deep concern that if the local publishing firms wage serious competition for rights, royalties will be pushed up far higher than expected. Although the law calls for nonretroactive foreign copyright protection, there is one exception: a government administrative guideline will protect U.S. publications on a 10-year retroactive basis. The guideline is a fatal blow for the publication business, particularly reprinters of foreign books.

Cinema producers are influenced by the law only when they adapt foreign plays or novels into movies. It was customary practice among local film makers to neglect the copyrights of original writers when they base a film on a foreign work. With the enforcement of the copyright law, they are expected to avoid making motion pictures of foreign literary works.

Dealers of fine art works ignored the copyrights of original creators, regarding it as "the fire on the other side of the river." Under the law, they are not allowed to reprint or publish fine art works without permission for the owners or creators of the art works.

They should also obtain permission from the copyright holders when they display the art works in public. However, those who display fine art works or who want to sell their originals may reproduce them in the form of a catalogue or pamphlet describing such works.

Foreign musical works, pop or classic, are protected under the regulations of the UCC and the Convention for the Protection of Phonograms against Unauthorized Duplication of Their Phonograms, which Korea joined concurrently with the entry into the UCC.

Beginning in October, local musicians should pay royalties to foreign composers when they play their musical pieces or use their original scores.

For classic musicians, the royalty-burden poses no threat, because most of their repertoires are exempt from the new law. It is most likely that local musicians, like film producers, will avoid playing musical works written by foreigners after October.

Local drama producers are subject to an average fee of 5-6 percent of the box-office ticket sales as royalties when they reproduce foreign plays on local stages.

The financial burden on local theaters became greater due to the neighboring rights for such fields as stage design, music and direction. The law requires written permission from original playwrights even for plays already published.

At this juncture, however, membership of UCC is a fact of life. While voicing concerns over the negative effects of the new law, the people concerned are prompt to admit that they should acclimatize themselves to the international customs and that the revised copyrights protection system will help the country erase its bad name as a "copyrights pirate" and join the ranks of culturally-advanced nations.

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### **YONHAP: PRC Officials Brief South Korean Businessmen**

*SK031055 Seoul YONHAP in English  
1031 GMT 3 Feb 88*

[Text] Hong Kong, Feb. 3 (YONHAP)—Flashing the latest and most encouraging sign yet supporting the rising expectations for direct trade links between China and south Korea, an official chinese mission held here Tuesday an exclusive briefing session for south Korean businessmen.

A foreign investment promotion mission from Guangzhou, the capital city of Guangdong province as well as the center stage of china's biggest special economic zone open to foreign investors, briefed on the business conditions of the coastal city to more than 40 south Korean businessmen stationed in Hong Kong.

It was the first exclusive briefing session ever presented by a Chinese official mission for south Korean businessmen in Hong Kong, attracting unusual attention from the world.

Deputy mayor of Guangzhou city Yang Ziyuan, head of the Chinese delegation, told reporters here that his city government welcomes the visits by investors from even the nations which have no diplomatic relations with China, indicating high possibility of direct trade between China and south Korea.

In a press conference held separately from the briefing session, Yang said that businessmen from those countries will be able to obtain entry visas at the Hong Kong bureau of the official XINHUA (new china) news agency.

At the briefing session for south Korean businessmen lasting one and a half hours in a building next to the (south) Korea center, Lin Bing, vice chairman of Guangzhou city foreign economics and trade committee, and Ni Zhian, deputy chief of the Guangzhou customs

office, said that present conditions facing trade between the two countries, characterized by many difficulties, will soon be improved on a gradual basis.

The chinese officials distributed in the session the Guangzhou waijing DAOBAO (foreign economic report), a magazine specializing in trade affairs and other detailed information materials on the investment conditions and tax systems of the Chinese city.

Prior to the session arranged through good offices of Arthur Anderson Co., a Hong Kong trading firm, the chinese mission presented similar sessions to businessmen from the United States, Britain, Japan and West Germany.

Two-way trade between China and south Korea, now indirect via Hong Kong and third countries, reached an about 1 billion-u.s. dollar volume for the first nine months of last year, up 80 percent over a year earlier.

Commodity exports to China amounted to 357 million dollars, featuring mostly electronic goods, while imports from that country stood at 470 million dollars worth in mainly textile raw materials, marking impressive increases of 78 percent and 76 percent, respectively, over a year before.

south Korea has no diplomatic relations with China who fought siding with north Korea in the 1950-53 Korean war, but expectations of direct trade with China has been rising in south Korea since president-elect No Tae-u pledged efforts for improved ties with china during his 1987 presidential election campaign.

It has recently been reported that China may establish a trade office in Seoul after the 24th Olympic games to be held this autumn in this capital city.

### **Daily Hails Warming With Vietnam**

*SK040202 Seoul CHUNGANG ILBO in Korean  
2 Feb 88 p 2*

[Editorial: "Sentimental Mood Caused by the Contrast Between the Past and Present in Korea-Vietnam Ties; Efforts Should Be Made for Practical Diplomacy After Throwing Off an Unfortunate Affinity"]

[Text] Foreign news reports from Hanoi saying that a Korean economic delegation will soon visit Vietnam is generating a sentimental mood caused by the contrast between the past and present in Korea-Vietnam ties, which have changed over the past 20 years.

The first encounter between Korea and Vietnam during the Vietnam war was an unfortunate relationship from both sides' point of view. Because it was a product of the callous situation called the cold war between the East and West, the first encounter between Korea and Vietnam is something that must be returned to normal

diplomatic relations. We hope that our economic delegation's visit to Vietnam, if it ever materializes, will serve as the first step toward such a felicitous event.

Conditions needed to open a new chapter in Korea-Vietnam ties have already been provided. The new relationship that the Soviet Union and communist China began to forge with the West, casting aside ideological differences, has broadened the room for their communist neighbors, such as Vietnam, to maneuver. In addition, Vietnam itself has already paved the way for such changes.

The Vietnamese Communist Party Congress which convened in December 1986 elected as party General Secretary Nguyen Van Linh, a pragmatist who advocates a policy of opening up, thus pushing aside the doctrinist revolutionary leaders who carried out the Vietnam war. With this reorganization in its leadership, Vietnam has embarked upon the road of rebuilding the country with a premium placed on the economy, as the Soviet Union and communist China have done, by overcoming its past infatuation with the theory of national liberation.

Later, in the latter half of 1987, Vietnam adopted a bold law governing economic development with foreign countries which allows foreign investors to set up joint ventures in Vietnam with foreign investors holding 99 percent of the stock. The day this law was passed, Vice Premier Vo Van Kiet explained: Vietnam needs this law in order to introduce foreign capital from other countries, regardless of their being socialist or non-socialist.

Vietnam seeks to achieve three goals by 1990 through rebuilding its ruined economy: the self-supplied production of food, the smooth supply of consumer goods, and an increased amount of foreign exchange holdings through exports.

Vietnam urgently needs foreign exchange to achieve such goals. The Vietnamese authorities are so enthusiastic about earning hard foreign currency that they not only welcome tourists from the West, but also apply a privileged exchange rate to money sent by the so-called "boat people" who have turned their backs on their fatherland.

This pressing need of Vietnam's will undoubtedly be a factor in forming lasting economic ties between Korea and Vietnam. Vietnam's decision to participate in the Seoul Olympics can be the signal of this.

However, our expectations for Korea-Vietnam relations, which we will establish sooner or later, go beyond the narrow boundary of economic interests. Vietnam is one of the last doctrinist communist countries in Asia, which includes North Korea. When this country extricates itself from the stubborn ideological yoke and establishes open relations with its Asian neighbors based on a pragmatist line, what impact will it have on North Korea, the last hermetic country in this region? We must think of this.

To hope for some change in North Korea is a pipe dream so long as the current leadership stays in power. However, changes will inevitably occur in North Korea in the post-Kim Il-song era, according to some North Korea-watchers.

In this context, Vietnam's example may probably have greater impact on North Korea than on communist China or the Soviet Union.

Because of such a possibility, in addition to the possibility of casting aside the unfortunate relation our two countries once had, we value the cautious movement toward the establishment of Korea-Vietnam ties all the more.

### **Businesses Plan Trade Strategies for East Bloc**

*SK290253 Seoul YONHAP in English  
0230 GMT 29 Jan 88*

[Text] Seoul, Jan. 29 (YONHAP)—Amid growing prospects for expanded trade between South Korea and communist-bloc nations, Korea's leading business conglomerates are stepping up their efforts to work out detailed plans to make inroad into the communist markets.

The move by private businesses followed the recent reports that Hungary will become the first East-bloc country to set up its trade office in Seoul in March and that several other East European countries are expected to take a similar step soon. The semi-official Korea Trade Promotion Corp. [Kotra] established its branch office in Budapest last mid-December.

Samsung, one of the top three business group in South Korea, has set up a plan to expand trade with all communist-bloc countries but Albania and is considering opening its overseas offices in those countries.

In addition to participating in trade fairs hosted by the Kotra in the communist countries, Samsung plans to hold individual exhibition shows.

Samsung will first use its overseas network in countries adjacent to targeted communist-bloc countries in a move to expand indirect trade contacts until it opens a residential office in the communist-bloc nation.

Samsung's export drive to the communist countries is expected to focus on textiles, electronics and light industrial products while imports from those countries will concentrate on chemical and machinery products.

Hyundai business group, whose major subsidiaries deal with automobiles, construction and shipbuilding, has operated a 20-member special team on the communist markets since 1983.

Hyundai's export strategy is expected to be geared to industrial facilities, heavy electric equipment, construction, steel and chemical industrial goods.

Hyundai aims to set up liaison offices in all of the communist-bloc countries concerned, if necessary.

Hyundai's trading arm is reportedly seeking to export steel plates to China by way of a joint venture with a U.S. firm.

Lucky and Goldstar group, in a move to improve its brand name among its future trade partners in the communist countries, plans to attend Beijing electronics fair in March, trade exhibition in Budapest, home appliance exhibition in May in Leningrad, the Soviet Union.

Lucky and Goldstar is also scheduled to display its electronics products in the Shanghai exhibition in October.

It also plans to put an advertisement in pro-China dailies in Hong Kong and trade journals in the Soviet Union and other East-bloc countries.

The Korean electronic giant will also beef up its branch office in Vienna, Australia, [as received] in a bid to expand contacts with Moscow and East European countries, while aiming to increase indirect trade via Scandinavian countries.

Lucky and Goldstar plans to increase its trade volume with the communist-bloc to 281 million U.S. dollars in 1988 from 190 million dollars a year ago.

Daewoo will try to shift to direct contact with the communist countries away from the hitherto indirect contacts.

Daewoo's major export items to China will include electric and electronics products, chemical, and iron and steel while its imports will constitute grain, coal and textile.

Sunkyoung is studying ways to export plants and do a joint investment in the communist-bloc.

Ssangyong business group plans to open liaison offices in Hungary and Yugoslavia in the latter half of this year while designating local agents in China, East Germany and Czechoslovakia.

Ssangyong will seek joint ventures with East European companies in cooperation with Western European companies. It plans to dispatch sales promotion delegations to the East-bloc countries in the first half of this year.

### **New Foreign Trade Agency To Be Formed**

*SK010313 Seoul YONHAP in English*

*0255 GMO 01 Feb 88*

[Text] Seoul, Feb. 1 (YONHAP)—South Korea, prompted by its failure in recent trade negotiations with the United States, has decided to create an independent agency in exclusive charge of foreign trade affairs under the direct control of the president, government and the ruling party sources said Monday.

The sources said the new agency tentatively named as Korea Trade Representative will go into operation either in April or in May with a cabinet minister level official as its head representative and four to five vice minister and assistant minister level officials as deputies.

The Korea Trade Representative will be a permanent body in charge of coordinating pertinent government ministries and of representing the government in trade talks with foreign countries, according to the sources.

They said the government plans to begin in early March, immediately after the inauguration of a new government, a series of inter-ministry talks for the creation of the trade representative.

President-elect No Tae-u and his government will take office on Feb. 25 in the country's first peaceful change of government in the 40-year constitutional history.

The government will empower the representatives of the new agency to finalize the government position after coordinating the positions of pertinent ministries.

The final say from the trade representative will overrule any of other suggestions from the pertinent ministries, and the ministries will have to follow the final decisions of the new agency.

The government will also authorize the new agency to solely represent the nation in trade talks with other countries, the sources said.

A senior government official said, in a series of recent trade talks with the United States, failure in coordinating the positions of pertinent ministries had brought about difficulties for the government to speak in single voice both in and out of the country.

Since the failure in producing any satisfactory outcome in the trade talks early this year with the United States has triggered a controversy inside the government on the proper way of the government representation in negotiations with foreign countries. [sentence as received]

Foreign ministry officials have complained that it was not a proper way of negotiating for deputy prime minister and economic planning minister Chong In-yong to have ignored diplomatic customs and gone directly into the talks with a working-level official of the United States.

Chong led a seven-member delegation comprising pertinent ministries to the Washington talks with the U.S. working-level officials headed by U.S. Trade Representative Clayton Yeutter without any prior preparatory contacts.

Chong's mission ended up in sheer failure in effect, bringing about in its wake trade suits by U.S. cigarette and beef exporters against South Korea.

The United States has warned that it will take a retaliatory trade action unless South Korea open its domestic markets wider to U.S. beef, cigarettes, and insurance firms among others and reduce its surging trade surplus with the United States.

**ROK Daily on Open, Flexible Foreign Policy**  
*SK290151 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English*  
29 Jan 88 p 8

[Editorial: "Qualitative Diplomacy"]

[Text] The enlarging scope of Seoul's foreign relations has come to embrace active sports, economic and cultural contacts and exchanges with Eastern Europe and several Communist countries in Asia and other parts of the world.

The changing diplomatic environment calls for an evolution of our foreign policy toward these strange partners comparable to the Ostpolitik undertaken by the Bonn government at the turn of the 1970s under Willy Brandt.

The obstacles we face are much more formidable than those in Germany, where relations between the East and the West are far less confrontational and volatile. But at the same time they afford a very rewarding challenge to the incoming administration.

An overall redefinition and reorientation of foreign policy goals are necessary because Korea is about to take a higher place in the community of nations and faces vast changes in the international conditions surrounding the peninsula.

An enlightening comment was made by President-elect No Tae-u during a briefing by the Foreign Ministry this week. He suggested a shift of emphasis from quantitative expansion to qualitative augmentation in the conduct of foreign policy.

Until now south Korea has concentrated on vying with north Korea in exchanging diplomatic missions with the greatest number of countries, and with apparent success.

Seoul now maintains diplomatic relations with 128 capitals and Pyongyang with 102. Efforts in that direction must continue for some time with an eye to gaining a larger numerical advantage.

However, this policy deserves a second thought. Do only the numbers count? Diplomatic power consists of many ingredients and they should rightly be measured in terms of quality.

The task of buttressing our diplomatic structure by qualitative innovation requires harnessing greater expertise and professionalism as No recommended. Toward that end, improvements in the foreign service are required. In both the formulation and execution of foreign policy, involvement of more nongovernmental specialists is desirable to aid and advise the bureaucratic professionals.

Sharing information and closely consulting with opposition and other groups could also help build a bipartisan approach to, and broadly based national consensus in, foreign policies.

The government has made a refreshing turn in foreign policy toward increased openness and flexibility of late. The forward-looking posture should be kept up and refined with pragmatism and consistency.

**ROK Daily Views Country's Warming With East Bloc Countries**  
*SK310443 Seoul TONG-A ILBO in Korean*  
28 Jan 88 p 2

[Editorial: "East Europe Is Still a Distant Place—We Should Have Astute Knowledge About It and Change Our Current System First"]

[Text] The East Bloc nations are fast coming closer to us. Suddenly, such communist countries as the Soviet Union and Communist China no longer appear to be strangers. We are talking about the 16 communist countries that are from what our country has classified special regions with which we have trade relations.

It is only after revision of the trade acts in late December 1972 and the declaration of opening to communist bloc nations through the 23 June Declaration in 1973 that contacts with communist countries, something that was beyond imagination up until early in the 1970's, have been made possible, at least in trade.

However, it has taken our country a long time to mutually open trade mission offices with Hungary. Of course, there have been indirect trade operations between our country and the East Bloc countries. Our country has conducted a small volume of indirect trade with Communist China and the East Bloc nations,

including the Soviet Union, through Hong Kong and West European countries respectively. Such indirect trade with these countries, however, has grown in volume every year.

According to unofficial statistics, the volume of two-way trade with communist countries, estimated at more or less \$500 million in 1981, jumped to over \$2 billion last year. The volume of two-way trade with Communist China in 1987 alone stands at more than \$1 billion.

The volume of trade as such is relatively small in view of the total volume of our country's two-way trade with other countries, which is estimated at more than \$80 billion. Nevertheless, the fact that the volume of indirect trade between our country and the East Bloc nations, with whom we have no diplomatic relations, has reached the level of more than \$2 billion is more than enough to augur future possibilities.

East Germany and Poland are also known to hope to follow in Hungary's example. There is no doubt that the Olympics scheduled to be hosted in Seoul in September will serve as a key to unlocking trade relations with communist countries. It is our ardent prayer that such a trend will continue in the future and generate a booming demand for our goods that, in turn, will allow our country to achieve another economic take-off as expected by stock market specialists.

The economic conditions of the East Bloc countries are in no sense good nowadays. Each of these countries in the East Bloc is struggling because of high prices, a high rate of unemployment, and the large amount of debt they

owe to foreign countries. The constant shortage in supplies of daily necessities and an economic system that has never experienced vicissitude in these stagnant countries make their economies appear to be way behind our brisk and flexible economy.

Nevertheless, trade with their highly potential markets and countries that have developed machinery industries could turn out to offset the trade deficit we have accumulated and, in a sense, our country cannot afford to be cool toward trade with them in that it involves the issue of overcoming issues, something more than economy. Meanwhile, do we not have any problem in dealing with them? As long as trade is not in the form of barter, we should be astute when it comes to their payment ability. We should also consider to what extent we can push ahead with setting up joint ventures with these countries, because we have no diplomatic relations with them.

Some already talk about granting loans to the East Bloc nations. That seems to be a little hasty. Pushing ahead with such things in a cool-headed manner is much better than clamoring about it simply because such things are possible. At this juncture, it is better that such things be left to the businessmen than to the government.

Before this, we better examine ourselves to see if there is something that needs some improvement in our law and understanding concerning our country's opening to communist countries. It is time for us to bring reforms to our system, on such issues as to whether or not we should confine our anticommunist policy to such hostile communist countries as North Korea and on how to view communism when it comes to education.

## POLITICAL

### KCNA Kim Il-song Work Reissued in Booklet Form

SK050453 Pyongyang KCNA in English 0439 GMT 5 Feb 88

[Text] Pyongyang February 5 (KCNA)—The workers' party of Korea publishing house brought out in booklet "let us rapidly expand the organization of the association for the restoration of the fatherland," the speech the great leader general Kim Il-song delivered at a meeting of military and political cadres and political underground workers of the Korean people's revolutionary army in the Komuigol secret camp in Changbai county on October 7, 1936 during the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle.

This historic work contains a revolutionary policy and ways to rapidly expand the organization of the association for the restoration of the fatherland (A.R.F.), an organization of the united front of all patriotic forces opposed to Japanese imperialism, so as to invigorate the nation-wide struggle to achieve the cause of national liberation.

In the work, General Kim Il-song stressed the need to conduct organizational and political activities to extensively enlist workers and peasants, the hardcore force of the revolution, in the A.R.F. organization so that they played a pivotal role and to involve in the A.R.F. organization petty-bourgeoisie, youth and students, intellectuals, nationalists, conscientious religionists and non-comprador capitalists opposed to Japanese imperialism.

The work indicates the policy of letting political underground workers and men of the Korean people's revolutionary army vigorously conduct mass political work among broad segments of people to expand the branch organizations of the A.R.F., the policy of closely combining the work of expanding the branch organizations of the A.R.F. with military activities to overpower the enemy and demonstrate the might of the Korean people's revolutionary army, the ways of establishing a guidance system over the branch organizations of the A.R.F., etc.

### Kim Chong-il Exercises 'Great Leadership' Over Railway

SK281059 Pyongyang KCNA in English 1027 GMT 28 Jan 88

["Great Leadership Over Laying of Northern Railways"—KCNA headline]

[Text] Pyongyang January 28 (KCNA)—Projects for laying railways in the northern region are progressing apace in Korea.

A section covering a distance of 100 kilometres, the first section, was opened to traffic toward the end of last year.

This construction bears imperishable exploits of dear comrade Kim Chong-il who is carrying into practice the far-reaching nature-remaking plan of the great leader President Kim Il-song.

Comrade Kim Chong-il indicated the orientation and ways of this construction on scores of occasions and saw to it that the projects were finished in a shortest possible period.

He set the places and stages of the railway projects and formed a general bureau in charge of the railway construction and an enterprise engaged in tunneling and building iron bridges.

And he assigned young people and soldiers to the difficult yet ambitious projects which should be done by overcoming rugged mountains and sent competent scientists and technicians to work with them.

He occasionally asked about the details of the construction, ensured preferential supply of equipment and materials including trucks, excavators, steel and timber and solved problems arising in the construction one by one.

He has repeatedly shown loving care and solicitude for the young builders who are remaking grand nature.

He sent many projectors, TV sets, musical instruments, etc. so they could always live an optimistic life, and greeted them with presents on New Year's days.

He was pleased more than anyone else and sent thanks when he got a report that the young builders overfulfilled the high set yearly plan by displaying the wisdom and valor of youth and the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance.

Deeply cherishing the party's benevolence, the young builders have successfully finished many projects over the past three years or a little more including an earth work of more than 10 million cubic metres, a project for removing millions of cubic metres of rocks and a concrete tamping of 934,000 cubic metres.

As a result, a railway section which covers a distance of 100 kilometres, was opened to adorn the 1980s with one more proud creation. In this course 37 tunnels, 46 iron bridges, more than 500 structures and 15 railway station building were built up.

Comrade Kim Chong-il highly appreciated the feats performed by the young builders and honoured 9 people with the title of labour hero of the republic, some 90 others with the Kim Il-song youth honour prize and more than 16,000 with high state decorations.

The builders, with this pride and honour, are carrying on a vigorous innovation drive to finish the remainder of projects at an early date.

## **NODONG SINMUN Carries Kim Chong-il Talk**

*4100009 Pyongyang KCNA in English  
0441 GMT 15 Jul 87*

[Text] Pyongyang, 15 Jul (KCNA)—Comrade Kim Chong-il, member of the Presidium of the Political Bureau, and secretary, of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea, had a talk "On Some Problems of Education in the Chuche Idea" with the senior officials of the WPK Central Committee on 15 July 1986.

Follows the talk published in NODONG SINMUN today on the first anniversary of its publication:

Equipping the party members and other working people solidly with the chuche idea is now vital to our party. I would like to speak about some problems arising in their education in the chuche idea.

Chuche idea education means education in the monolithic ideology of our party. It is an undertaking to imbue the party members and other working people with the chuche idea, the guiding ideology of our party, and train them to be genuinely communist revolutionaries of the chuche type. The Korean communist revolutionaries are true revolutionaries who have accepted the chuche idea as their firm faith and are devoted to the struggle to accomplish the cause of chuche. It is only when we intensify their education in the chuche idea that the party members and other working people can acquire the ideological and spiritual traits and qualities of the communist revolutionary of the chuche type and fight devotedly for the sacred cause of realizing chajusong for the masses of the people.

The chuche idea is the party's unshakable ideology that guides the cause of our revolution to victory. Only when we follow the chuche idea can we accomplish our party's revolutionary cause of realizing chajusong for the masses. The revolution is an undertaking to bring chajusong to the masses of the people. The revolutionary character of an ideology is determined by the degree of firmness with which it champions man's chajusong and by the degree of scientific accuracy with which it elucidates the way to realize man's chajusong. The chuche idea is a thorough revolutionary ideology in that it considers it the fundamental aim of the revolution to champion and realize chajusong, the life and soul of a man as a social being, and asserts that the revolution should be continued through to the end until chajusong is completely realized. The chuche idea is a perfect revolutionary doctrine: It shows the way people can become complete masters of the world and of their own destiny by thoroughly transforming nature, society and human beings themselves in accordance with men's inherent social desire to live and develop independently, as well as the way to the lasting happiness and prosperity of mankind. The chuche idea is an absolutely scientific revolutionary doctrine for man's emancipation primarily because it is based on a man-centred outlook on the world. The great

leader Comrade Kim Il-song has established the man-centred philosophical outlook on the world for the first time in history, an outlook which puts man in the position of the master of the world and clarifies the essence of the world and the laws of its change and development.

When we say that the chuche idea is a man-centred outlook on the world, some people think that it emphasizes man's subjective desire and wishes only, ignoring the objective world. This is a serious misunderstanding. We said that we should see the world with man at the centre. We have never said that we should see man only.

Why, then, should we see the world with man at the centre? Because man is the most developed material being, holds the position of the master in the world, and plays the decisive role in the development of the world and in shaping his own destiny.

Man has a common basis with other organisms in that he, too, is a living material being which came into existence in the long course of the evolution of nature. Nevertheless, there are qualitative differences in the levels of the development of man and other organisms. For this reason, there are fundamental differences between man's position and role in the world and those of other material beings. Man, not nature, holds the position of the master in the material world. Man is the only independent being in the material world. Animals can survive only by adapting themselves to nature. Therefore, they cannot be called the master of their destiny. Animals are part of nature and their destiny is determined by the natural laws of change and development, whereas man is the powerful master of the world who, on the basis of scientific understanding of these natural laws, transforms nature to meet his own needs and harnesses it to his service. Man is not a being which obeys the natural laws of change and development and throws in his lot with nature; he is a social being who shapes his destiny independently and creatively in accordance with the laws of social movement, the laws peculiar to human society.

The greater man's creative role grows in transforming nature, the higher his position as the master of the world rises, and the better the material world surrounding him is changed to serve him.

Since man is the only creative being that changes the world purposely to meet his needs, he not only holds the position of the master in the world, but plays the decisive role in transforming and developing the world.

That man holds the position of the master in the world and plays the decisive role in the development of the world is the chuche-oriented view on today's world. Apart from his position of the master in the world and

from his creative role in transforming the world, it would be impossible to understand how far the world has developed and how and in which direction it will develop in the future.

Inasmuch as man's destiny is determined in his relationship with the world, the fact that he holds the position of the master in the world and plays the decisive role in its development means that he is the master of his own destiny and as such plays the decisive role in shaping his destiny. Therefore, the principle of the *chuche* philosophy which clarifies man's position and role in the world is the principle that shows the way man can shape his destiny.

The basic mission of the philosophical outlook on the world is to show man the way to shape his destiny. The basic aim of all his cognitive and practical activities is to hew out his destiny. For that matter, the aim and mission of philosophy cannot be an exception. Man endeavours to know what the essence of the world is, not for the sake of a mere knowledge, but, in the final analysis, to find out the way to shape his destiny. In other words, man is vitally interested in understanding what the world is, because he cannot know about his own destiny unless he knows anything about the world. It can be claimed, therefore, that the progressive nature and vitality of a world outlook are determined, after all, by the degree of the correctness of the way the world outlook shows to shape man's destiny. The basic characteristics and the unequalled superiority of the world outlook of the *chuche* philosophy lie in the fact that, on the basis of the philosophical principle elucidating man's position and role in the world, it shows the most scientific, fundamental methods of shaping man's destiny. In order to clarify man's position and role in the world, it is necessary to throw light on the general characteristics of the material world and also on the essential qualities of man. The mere knowledge of either of the two factors is not enough to make clear man's position and role in the material world, the philosophical outlook on the world in the preceding period clarified the principle of materialism that the world is made of material, and the dialectical principle that the world undergoes constant change and development. These philosophical principles were able to show the general characteristics of the material world, but they are not enough to bring man's position and role in the world to light.

The basic mission of a world outlook is, in essence, to elucidate man's position and role in the world. Therefore, if materialism and dialectics are to fulfil their mission as a world outlook, they must not only show that the world is made of material and undergoes constant change and development, but also clarify that man, the most developed material being, holds the position of the master in the world and plays the decisive role in the development of the world. It is true that the general principles of dialectical materialism alone are not

enough to solve the question of man's essential qualities and his position and role in the world, but it is impossible to give a correct answer to this question if we depart from these principles.

As matters now stand, however, some officials have a misunderstanding that the *chuche* philosophy has nothing to do with the general principles of dialectical materialism because it is a man-centred philosophy. The *chuche* philosophy considers man in relation to the other material beings which are not so highly developed as he is, instead of separating him from the material world and regarding him isolatedly. Thus it clarifies the essential features of man and his position and role. It is clear that it conforms to the basic principles of materialism and dialectics that man, the most developed material being, holds the position of master towards the less developed material beings and that the movement of man, the movement of the highest-grade material being, plays a greater role than the movement of the lower-grade material beings in the advancement of the world. The *chuche* philosophy has not discarded the principles of materialism and dialectics. On the contrary, it can be claimed that it has perfected dialectical materialism by scientifically elucidating the outstanding position and role of man in the material world, on the premise of the principles of dialectical materialism.

The position and role of man in the world can only be clarified on the basis of philosophical elucidation of the general characteristics of the material world and the essential features of man. Therefore, the man-centred philosophical world outlook comprises all the principles which elucidate the general characteristics of the material world, the essential features of man and his position and role in the world. For this reason, it can be said that the *chuche* outlook on the world is a philosophical world outlook which has overcome the one-sidedness of the philosophical world outlook in the preceding period and given the most profound and comprehensive answers to the questions of the essence of the world and of man's destiny.

Proceeding from the philosophical principle that man occupies the position of the master in the world and plays the decisive role in advancing the world and in shaping his own destiny, the *chuche* idea demands that man should always be regarded as the central factor, that everything should be approached from an independent point of view and that all activities should be creative so as to contribute to enhancing the position and role of man. This is the reason why the independent and creative stands should be the fundamental stand and the fundamental method which must be adhered to in all cognitive and practical activities. The essence of society and the laws of its change and development can also be understood correctly only by focussing on man. Society consists of people, the social wealth they have created and the social relations which link them together, here man is always the master. Both social wealth and social

relations are created by man. Therefore, social wealth is created and social relations are improved as far as man's independent thinking and creative ability develop.

Social movement is the movement of man which is caused and promoted by man. Man is the factor which causes social movement and the force which pushes this movement forward. In conformity with the level of development of his chajusong, creativity and consciousness, man carries on the creative movement to transform nature and society and pushes forward the social movement to shape his own destiny. Of course, man cannot make history disregarding the objective conditions. But the objective conditions are not immutable; they can be changed in favour of man through his creative activities. It is not the objective conditions but man that plays the decisive role in the development of history. The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has always instructed that we should find the cause of success or failure in our work within the subjective factor and should find work in the objective conditions. The basic cause of success or failure in the revolution and construction lies in man who undertakes them, not in the objective conditions. However, the revolution and construction are man's creative activities to transform the objective world to meet his needs. Therefore, these undertakings can be successful only when man uses correct methods which have been worked out on the basis of scientific calculation of the characteristics of the objective world and the laws of its movement. If we are to increase the creative role of the popular masses in the revolution and construction, it is necessary to bring their revolutionary zeal and creativeness into full play. At the same time, it is important and imperative to combine this work with a correct strategy and tactics that suit the objective world and conditions.

On the basis of the philosophical principle which clarifies the position and role of man in the world, the chuche idea not only provides a correct outlook and viewpoint of nature, society and man, but also shows a perfect revolutionary theory, strategy and tactics, and leadership theory and methods. For this very reason, the chuche idea serves as the sole guideline to all the activities of our party. In our party there cannot and need not be any other idea but the chuche idea. Therefore, we say that the chuche idea is the monolithic ideology of our party.

Some of our officials, however, still do not understand clearly that the chuche idea is the monolithic ideology of our party. That is why they regard our party's chuche idea as something contrary to Marxism-Leninism or misunderstand that class education or the education in the revolutionary traditions is one thing, and that education in the chuche idea is another.

As I have emphasized more than once, the chuche idea inherits all the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is a valuable revolutionary asset which the working masses gained in their

hard-fought revolutionary struggle. Why should the chuche idea, which advocates a complete realization of man's chajusong and the consummation of the revolution, abandon the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism? The chuche idea does not abandon the ideological and theoretical achievements of Marxism-Leninism but further develops and enriches them as required by historical progress.

It is natural that the development of a thing involves two aspects—inheritance and innovation. It is a metaphysical view to see only one aspect of them. The development of a revolutionary idea also involves the two aspects of inheritance and innovation.

The basic mission of a revolutionary idea is to explain the aim of the revolutionary movement and the way to carry it out. Marxism-Leninism, the revolutionary idea of the working class, considers it the ultimate aim of the revolutionary struggle to build a communist society in which everyone, free from exploitation and oppression of man by man, is equally well-off. It also explains that, in order to attain this aim, it is necessary to struggle with a correct strategy and tactics based on the objective laws of social development. From the point of view of the mission of revolutionary ideas, the chuche idea and Marxism-Leninism are one and the same scientific communist idea, and as such they have community. The chuche idea inherits the revolutionary stance of the working class, materialistic and dialectical principles and scientific theories which run through Marxism-Leninism.

But today, in comparison with the period when the founders of Marxism-Leninism were active, chajusong, creativity and consciousness of the masses who undertake the revolution have increased greatly, and their position and role in social development have also changed greatly. Hence the need to develop the theory and methods of revolution creatively to meet the demands of the new historical circumstances. This is an important question.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song said that in today's new historical conditions we should construe Lenin's proposition—Soviet power plus electrification equals communism—as meaning that the people's government plus the three revolutions is communism. We understand that by electrification he emphasized the need for a high level of material and technical foundations of communism. Comrade Kim Il-song instructed that in order to build communism we must capture the ideological fortress, as well as the material fortress, and give precedence to the former. The work of capturing the material fortress of communism is an undertaking to harness nature as required by communism. The endeavours to attain the ideological fortress are the work of reforming human beings, the masters of society, so as to meet the requirements of communism. Socialism and communism is built by men and it is also an undertaking for men. In order to build communism, it is necessary,

first of all, to reform people, the masters of society, along communist lines. If we are to attain the material fortress of communism, we must press ahead with the technological revolution; in order to conquer the ideological fortress, we must accelerate the ideological revolution and the cultural revolution.

The course of building socialism and communism is the course of steadily improving the social relations so that man's chajusong and creativity can be brought into fuller effect in step with the strengthening material and technical foundations of society, and with the people's rising ideological and cultural levels. It is the people's government managing the social life in a unified way that plays the decisive role in ensuring that the masses hold the position of masters of society and play the role as such. Only by enhancing the function and role of the people's government shall we be able to improve the social relations rationally, constantly enhance the position and role of the masses in society and ensure that socialism and communism is built successfully.

In socialist society where the exploiting classes have been liquidated and the state power is in the hands of the masses, the question of reorganizing the social relations along communist lines in step with the capturing of the material and ideological fortresses of communism, can be solved smoothly by the people's government.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song defined it as the general line of building socialism and communism after the establishment of the socialist system to carry out the ideological, technological, and cultural revolutions while strengthening the people's government. This is a living example which shows us how we should creatively develop the revolutionary theory of the working class in conformity with the new historical circumstances.

The chuche idea categorically rejects narrow-minded chauvinism in the ideological domain. The chuche idea fairly evaluates and assimilates the ideas capable of making even the smallest contributions to enhancing man's position and role in the world, no matter which nation or people have evolved them.

Our party does not need any other ideological system than the system of the chuche idea, and in our party there can be no ideological education which is alien to education in the chuche idea. Nevertheless, some propaganda workers are planning party ideological education by defining the percentage of education in the chuche idea, of class education and of education in the revolutionary traditions. This shows that they still think as if there were any other ideological education than education in the chuche idea.

Of course, class education, education in the party's policies, education in the revolutionary traditions, education in socialist patriotism and many other forms of ideological education are not just the same in their content as education in the principles of the chuche idea.

But all of them are a link in the whole chain of the ideological education to imbue the people with the chuche idea, the monolithic ideology of our party. In short, the basic aim of education in the chuche idea is to equip the popular masses, the subject of the revolution, with the revolutionary idea of independence, ensure the unity of the idea and purpose in the revolutionary ranks, and encourage the masses to keep their position as masters and play their role as such in the revolution and construction. All the work of ideological education that our party conducts should contribute to strengthening the revolutionary ranks organizationally and ideologically and raising the independent and creative role of the masses.

To this end, we should deal with the ideological education of all forms including education in loyalty in combination with the basic principles of the chuche idea. We must solve even the question of class consciousness and of socialist patriotism on the basis of the fundamental principles of the chuche idea. Only then can all the work of ideological education be consistent with the chuche idea of our party and be carried out so as to meet the basic requirements of the chuche idea, that is, to strengthen the subject of the revolution and enhance its role. For this reason, I call all forms of our party's ideological education the ideological education of chuche. This is the same as we call the revolutionary thought of our party the chuche idea because the fundamental principles of the chuche idea underlie the idea, theory and method of our party.

Some propagandists seem to take education in the chuche idea as meaning only the teaching of the principles of the chuche idea. Of course, they may use the term in such a narrow meaning in order to distinguish it from other forms of ideological education. But, since the chuche idea is the monolithic ideology of our party we must include all types of our party ideological education in chuche idea education. Class education is an important form of education in the chuche idea to strengthen the subject of the revolution. The working class is the core of the subjective force of the revolution. Without the leadership of the working class, it would be impossible for the popular masses to become united as the subject of the revolution and carry out the revolution to win their chajusong. The process of building socialism and communism is that of transforming the whole of society on the working-class pattern by reforming nature, society and man as required by the working class, and this process is accompanied by a serious class struggle. It is only when class education is intensified amongst party members and other working people that they can distinguish friends clearly from enemies and resolutely uphold the revolutionary stand of the working class in the revolution and construction. Moreover, we should concentrate great efforts on class education under the circumstances in which we are carrying on our revolution in direct confrontation with the U.S. imperialists occupying South Korea and class enemies including their stooges.

Education in socialist patriotism to which our party attaches importance at the moment must also contribute to strengthening the subject of the revolution. Since the revolution in each country and nation takes place within that country and nation as a unit, the subject of the revolution and construction in each country is always the people of that country. The first and foremost duty of our party and people in relation to the world revolution is to carry out successfully the Korean revolution, our nation's revolutionary duty. In order to be faithful to the revolution in one's country, one must first love and hold one's nation dear. In this sense I advocate the idea of our nation first. This idea does not mean that we should look down upon other nations, and emphasize the good points of our nation only. We communists can on no account be nationalists. Communists are real patriots and true internationalists. When I put forward the our-nation-first-idea, I mean that we should carry out the revolution and construction independently, in the spirit of holding our nation dearest and with a high sense of national pride. Those who despise their own nation and make a fetish of others cannot be faithful to their party and their people nor can they have the attitude befitting masters towards the revolution and construction in their country.

We must not harbour illusions about big countries or developed nations. An illusion is not real. We must always base ourselves on the specific realities of our country. Big countries or developed nations are not always right, nor do all their experiences suit the specific situation in our country. We should appreciate the role of big countries properly and develop friendly relations with them, but we must not give up chajusong and follow them blindly.

Friendship is necessary for the sake of chajusong, and genuine friendship can be ensured only when we maintain the independent stand.

The greatness of a nation is by no means attributable to the large size of its territory and population. Just as a man's worth is defined by his ideology, so is the greatness of a nation determined by the greatness of its guiding ideology.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has established the *chuche* idea and built the revolutionary party of the *chuche* type, and has thus made a new history of prosperity for our people, and shown mankind the straight road to independence. That is why the progressive people around the world hold our leader in high esteem as a great teacher of mankind and praise our country highly as the "homeland of the *chuche* idea." We, as a nation, must be proud of this. We must be firmly determined to carry out the revolution and construction in our own way to meet the needs of our people and to suit the situation in our country, with fervent loyalty to the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and under the leadership of the party.

Education in the revolutionary traditions should also be conducted on the basis of the fundamental principles of the *chuche* idea. The subject of the revolution strengthens and develops through a long historical process. In this sense we can say that the subject of the revolution has its historical root. The revolutionary traditions are a priceless revolutionary wealth gained in the process during which the subject of the revolution springs up from this historical root and strengthens and develops. Without preserving and carrying forward this revolutionary wealth, it would be impossible to maintain consistency and continuity in the efforts to strengthen the subject of the revolution.

Our party has achieved an absolute and unconditional unity of the revolutionary ranks behind the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song. Our people are very proud of this revolutionary tradition. The leader's warm love and solicitude for the revolutionary fighters and the examples set by the anti-Japanese revolutionary forerunners who entrusted their destinies entirely to the leader and followed his leadership faithfully are touching the heart of everyone today.

Many difficulties lie in the way of our revolution. In order to complete through generations the revolutionary cause of *chuche* pioneered by respected Comrade Kim Il-song, we must learn and follow the noble revolutionary spirit of the young communists who had respected Comrade Kim Il-song in the centre of unity and of the leadership and fought at the risk of their lives to implement his idea and policy at the dawn of our revolution. This is the way to maintain the purity of the brilliant tradition of the unbreakable unity of the leader, the party and the masses, the unity which our revolutionary forerunners achieved at the cost of their blood, and to strengthen and develop our party which had grown up from the deep and strong root into an eternal revolutionary party, a party which never ceases struggling. Our party's policies are the strategy and tactics of our revolution to implement the *chuche* idea. It is only when the education of the party members and working people in party policy is intensified that they can carry out the revolutionary struggle and construction work as required by the *chuche* idea. In the final analysis, the aim of strengthening the subject of the revolution is to encourage the popular masses to thoroughly implement the party's policies under the guidance of the party and the leader. The process of implementing the party's policies is none other than the process of revolutionary struggle. We must conduct education in our party's policies more substantially so that all the party members and working people will clearly understand their validity and vitality and work with a high degree of revolutionary enthusiasm and creativity in order to put them into effect.

Bearing in mind that all forms of ideological education conducted by our party are geared to the education in the *chuche* idea, our propaganda workers must proceed with it at a higher level, in close combination with the principles of the *chuche* idea, so that the party members

and working people will have a deep understanding of the essence of the *chuche* idea and firmly maintain the attitude befitting the masters in the revolution and construction.

The most important thing in education in the *chuche* idea is that the party members and working people have a correct understanding of the subject of the revolution and firmly establish a revolutionary outlook on the leader. In order to remain faithful to the revolutionary cause the party members and working people must, first of all, have a correct view of the subject of the revolution. The masses of the people are the subject of history, but they are not always an independent subject of history that shapes their destiny independently and creatively. In a society ruled by exploiting classes the masses were exploited and oppressed by the minority ruling classes and they were not in the position of the masters of history. Of course, it was the masses of the people who advanced history in that society, too, but they had to bear a heavy burden of making history, not at their own will but, in most cases, at the will of the ruling classes. The masses in such a status cannot yet claim to have become the independent subject of history.

It was not until an advanced industrial working class emerged and the working masses became awakened and organized under the impact of its independent revolutionary ideas that the independent subject of history was able to make its full appearance on the stage of history. It was an epoch-making change in the development of human history.

Since then, the working masses, with an independent revolutionary idea, have been able to shape their own destiny.

For the popular masses to be an independent subject of the revolution, they must be united into one organization with one ideology under the leadership of the party and the leader. Only the masses, who are united organizationally and ideologically, can shape their destiny independently and creatively. The subject of the revolution means the integrated whole of the leader, the party and the masses. By uniting around the leader organizationally and ideologically, under the guidance of the party, the masses form a social-political organism which has immortal vitality as an independent being. The physical life of an individual person is limited, but the integrity of the masses rallied as an independent social-political organism is immortal. The greater leader Comrade Kim Il-song clarified for the first time in history that there is social-political integrity distinct from individuals' physical life. An immortal social-political integrity is unthinkable apart from the social-political community which is the integrated whole of the leader, the party and the masses. Only when an individual becomes a member of this community can he acquire the immortal social-political integrity.

Since the social-political organism consists of many people it needs its centre which has unified command of the activities of the social organism. Just as a man's brain is the centre of his life, so the leader, the top brain of a social-political community, is the center of the life of this community. The leader is called the top brain of the social-political organism because he is the centre which directs the life of this organism in a unified way. The leader is the centre which analyses, synthesizes and coordinates the desire of the masses for independence and their interests: At the same time, he is the centre which has unified command of their creative activities to put them into effect.

The party is the core of the masses, which is rallied closely around the leader organizationally and ideologically; it is the pivot of the independent social-political organism, when individuals are united with the leader, the centre of the social-political organism, organizationally and ideologically through party organizations and share the same destiny with the party, they will acquire an immortal social-political integrity. It is only when people take an active part in organizational and ideological activities as members of a party organization or a social-political organization led by the party that they can cement the ties of kinship with the leader, the centre of the social-political organism, and exalt their social-political integrity.

Since the leader, the party and the masses are welded into one social-political organism and share their destiny with each other, they form a relationship based on revolutionary fidelity and comradeship, the relationship of helping and loving each other. Revolutionary fidelity and comradeship help towards uniting individual persons into a social-political organism.

So far many people have talked about the value of freedom and equality. The *chuche* idea also considers them valuable. This is because everybody, as the master of the world, the master of his own destiny, and as an independent being, does not want to be subjected to anyone else. However, the principle of revolutionary fidelity and comradeship is not of the same dimension as that of freedom and equality. The relationship of revolutionary fidelity and comradeship presupposes the relationship of freedom and equality. But the former is not established spontaneously simply because the latter exists. We can say that buyer and seller are on equal terms, but we cannot say that they always love each other as comrades. It is wrong to set the relationship of freedom and equality against that of revolutionary fidelity and comradeship. It is also mistaken to try to dissolve one into the other.

From the point of view of a social community as a unit, the principle of equality contributes to the fight against subjugation and inequality in personal relationship and to the defence of the *chajusong* in individuals, whereas revolutionary fidelity and comradeship have a strong effect on uniting people into a social-political organism

sharing one and the same destiny and on the promotion of the chajusong of the social community. The principle of equality is based on the individualistic outlook on life; it sets the greatest value on the life of individuals. On the other hand, the principle of revolutionary fidelity and comradeship is based on the collectivist viewpoint on life; it holds the life of a social-political community incomparably dearer than the life of individuals. Certainly, the social-political organism, too, is subject to the working of the principle of equality as well as the principle of revolutionary fidelity and comradeship. Here, equality between individuals does not contradict revolutionary fidelity and comradeship between them. Genuine revolutionary fidelity and comradeship can exist only when exploitation and oppression of man by man are liquidated and equality between people is ensured. Revolutionary fidelity and comradeship do not restrain the chajusong and creativity of man. On the contrary, they ensure them more reliably. If man's chajusong and creativity are suppressed because the unity of the social community has to be maintained, it will be impossible to achieve genuine unity within the community. On the contrary, if the unity of the community is destroyed on the plea of providing people with chajusong and creativity, the integrity of the social community, the parent body of the integrity of individuals, will be impaired and thus the individuals themselves cannot be provided with chajusong and creativity. The unity of the social community should contribute to giving full play to man's chajusong and creativity. And man's chajusong and creativity must always refrain from going beyond the bounds of the unity of the community. This means that only through a harmonious combination of the principles of equality and comradeship can you solve the problems of giving full play to the chajusong and creativity of individuals and of cementing the unity of the community. Certainly, this is not an easy task, still less the problems resolve of their own accord. That is why I have stressed more than once that a social community always needs leadership.

Since the leader is the centre of the life of a social-political community, revolutionary fidelity and comradeship must also be centred on the leader. Revolutionary fidelity and comradeship find the noblest expression in the relationship between the leader and his men. Within the social-political organism which shares the same destiny, revolutionary fidelity and comradeship have effect on the relationship between individuals, too. But in this case these are not absolute because none of the individuals can be the centre of the life of the social-political community. However, loyalty to the leader and comradeship towards him are absolute and unconditional because the leader represents the integrity of the community as the top brain of the social-political organism.

It is only when the leader, the party and the masses are integrated into one that they can be an immortal social-political organism. Therefore, they must not be separated from each other or set against each other. Just as

the masses who are not guided by the party and the leader cannot be an independent subject of history, so the party and the leader that are divorced from the masses cannot maintain their identity as the political leader and pace-maker of history. Such a leader is not a leader but simply an individual, and such a party is not a party, but a mere group. That is why I have always emphasized that we should not consider the leader, the party and the masses separately from each other.

We must also have a correct understanding that the leader plays the decisive role in the revolution and construction. Being at the centre of unity and leadership, he plays the decisive role in shaping the destiny of the popular masses. This is similar to the fact that the brain of a man plays the decisive role in his activity. However, the leader is always the leader of the party and the popular masses, so his role must not be separated from that of the party and of the masses. The parts played by the leader, the party and the masses are always integrated into one.

Likewise, loyalty to the leader, to the party and to the people is an integral whole. It is inconceivable to have loyalty to the leader, without having loyalty to the party and the people; such loyalty cannot be genuine. We must not regard loyalty to the leader as one thing and the party spirit, working-class spirit, and the spirit to serve the people as another. Because the leader is the centre of the integrity of the party and the popular masses, loyalty to the party and the people must be expressed most intensively in loyalty to the leader. This is why we say that loyalty to the leader is the highest expression of the party, working-class and people-oriented spirit. This is the very reason why we consider that the basic quality of a communist revolutionary of the *chuche* type consists of a sound, revolutionary attitude to the leader and of the appreciation of loyalty to him as the life and soul of the communist.

Loyalty to the leader is based on the collectivist outlook on life that the integrity of a social-political community is the parent body of an individual's integrity. It is life that is most valuable for a man. In this regard, his social-political integrity is more valuable than his physical life, and the integrity of a social community is more precious than an individual's integrity. The integrity of a social community is the basis of an individual's integrity. An individual's loyalty to the leader, to the party and to the masses, which are the parent body of his integrity, does not come about on orders, but emanates from the basic needs of his own social-political integrity. It is for the sake of his own self rather than for somebody else. The *chuche* idea considers that a man's life aimed at satisfying only his physical needs does not differ from that of an animal and that a man's life isolated from the leader, the party and the masses is worthless and contrary to the man's social nature. Communist revolutionaries of the *chuche* type find the worth of life and happiness in fighting devotedly for the common cause of the masses' chajusong, firmly united on the basis of

revolutionary fidelity and comradeship, under the guidance of the party and the leader. Therefore, the revolutionary attitude to the leader can be claimed as the nucleus of a revolutionary outlook on life. An analysis of the shortcomings revealed recently in party life shows that our officials still lack the correct understanding of the subject of the revolution. In particular, they are not firm in regarding the leader as the centre of a social-political organism. Because they lack the firm revolutionary determination to share life and death, weal and woe, with the party with the leader at its centre, they fail in their adherence to the principles of absoluteness and unconditionality in the implementation of the great leader's instructions and the party's policies, and waver, affected by defeatism and acting from expediency in their work when they are faced with difficulties.

When receiving the instructions of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song and the party's policies, we must feel very happy and honoured before we accept them as orders and duties, bearing deeply in mind that they are the noblest needs of life. We must implement them with all our devotion, knowing clearly that they are the expression of great affection and high trust put in us by the motherly party and the fatherly leader. Only those who think and act in this way can be called communist revolutionaries of the *chuche* type who have the thoroughgoing revolutionary attitude to the leader.

Defeatism results from the failure to make the ideas of the party and the leader one's own and to believe in the inexhaustible power of the popular masses. Defeatists pin hopes on their individual wisdom or on chance factors rather than believing in the party, the leader and the masses. Those who have the revolutionary attitude to the leader and a correct viewpoint on the subject of the revolution, will have a rock-firm faith that nothing is impossible when the leader, the party and the masses are united. Under no circumstances, therefore, they fall into defeatism. The practices of working perfunctorily and acting from expediency are due, after all, to the fact that they have not acquired the revolutionary attitude to the leader. These are the expression of a servile spirit which fundamentally contradicts the attitude of masters towards the revolution. We are not salary earners but masters of the revolution who are closely related to the party with the leader at its centre and share the same lot with it. Those who are convinced of this can never work perfunctorily or act from expediency.

The worship of big powers and a dogmatic approach to foreign things are another expression of lacking the revolutionary attitude to the leader. As a matter of principle, revolutionary fidelity and comradeship should not change according to circumstances and conditions. Children love and respect their parents not because their parents are always superior to those of others or because the children receive benefits from them, but because the parents are the benefactors of their lives who gave birth to them and have brought them up. A man with the sense of revolutionary fidelity shares the same lot with the

leader, the party and the masses, which are the parent body of his integrity, consistently in any circumstances, favourable or unfavourable. If a man feels disappointed and thinks ill of his country because it is backward, or betrays his motherland in danger in order to save himself alone, no one and no country will consider him a man of conscience. A man with the sense of revolutionary fidelity will neither worship big powers nor betray his leader, his party and his motherland in any adversity.

The first thing we must know is that our leader, not the great man of any other country, won back our lost country by overcoming all the hardships and difficulties in the dark years of Japanese imperialist rule and has built a prosperous socialist country on this land. It is our leader who has led our people to defeat Japanese and U.S. imperialisms and to exalt the honour of *chollima* Korea. It is also our leader who is victoriously leading our people's revolutionary cause for socialist construction and for independent national reunification even in the difficult circumstances where we are in direct confrontation with U.S. imperialism, the ringleader of world reaction. All the communist revolutionaries of Korea have been accorded immortal political integrity by the fatherly leader and have been trained under his loving care. Indeed, he is the great teacher of all of us and father of our political integrity. Therefore, the loyalty of our party members and working people to the great leader is unspotted, pure, absolute and unconditional.

In order to preserve loyalty to the party and to the leader as revolutionary fidelity by acquiring a sound revolutionary attitude to the leader, we must have a clear understanding of the greatness of the leader and our party. Education in this greatness must put emphasis on informing people of the greatness of the party's and the leader's ideas and theory, of their leadership and of their ideological and mental qualities.

At the moment party organizations are conducting education in the leader's virtues a great deal. However, this education alone cannot give party members and working people a clear understanding of the greatness of the leader. It is true that our leader is endowed with the noblest popular qualities and communistic virtues. However, in order to train party members and working people to be genuine communist revolutionaries who have a firm *chuche*-orientated revolutionary world outlook, we must first inculcate the greatness of the leader's idea, theory and leadership in them.

Respected Comrade Kim Il-song is a great thinker and theoretician who has evolved the immortal *chuche* idea, and a great statesman who has been wisely leading our people along the untrodden path of socialism and communism under the difficult and complex circumstances in which we are in direct confrontation with U.S. imperialism. Progressive people in many countries of the world are now learning unanimously from the immortal *chuche* idea created by respected Comrade Kim Il-song and highly regard him as a great teacher.

If party members and working people are to acquire a clear understanding of the greatness of the leader's idea and leadership, they should be encouraged to study his works attentively. This is important.

The works of the great leader Comrade Kim Il-song are the crystallization of the idea, theory and method of *chuche* and elucidate all the theoretical and practical problems which are raised in the revolution and construction and the specific ways to solve them. His works summarize the breadth and depth of all the valuable experience gained and brilliant achievements made by our people in the arduous and complex struggle under the leadership of the party; they give a full explanation of the fundamental principles and the strategy and tactics by which we must be guided. They are an encyclopedia which sums up the truth on the revolution and construction and a library of the *chuche* idea. His works are the priceless classics which we must study. Therefore, the study of the leader's works must always be conducted by using the originals.

But at present the works are being studied in a perfunctory manner. Some officials only read written explanatory lectures and other reference materials, instead of studying the works in the original. It is easy to understand their originals but difficult to read the explanatory lectures and to pick up the main point. However, the propaganda workers substitute the study of his works by circulating these materials to subordinate units and controlling their attendance at study sessions.

The purpose of studying the leader's works is to acquire his ideas and theory in depth and to implement them to the letter. The party members and the working people must first study harder his works related to their fields and channel main efforts into carrying out the tasks set forth by the works.

If we are to study the works effectively, we must organize it in a variety of forms and methods, to fit the people's characteristics and preparedness. Debate on the works in the seminar is a good way to study the works substantially. Studying through arguments in a collective way is effective both in establishing the habit of study and in acquiring a deep understanding of the content. I have already emphasized that studying together asking and answering questions, is effective in stimulating enthusiasm for study and understanding the truth clearly through joint efforts. We must ensure that all fields and units arrange seminars on his classic works widely, and study them by the method of argument and in conformity with their own situation.

At the seminar on the leader's works we must not only concentrate on acquiring a deep understanding of their ideological and theoretical content but on debating the ways and means to solve those problems arising in implementing the principles and applying the methods shown by the works. The seminar on the works must not be an idle talk, divorced from practical work.

Through a deep-going education in the *chuche* idea, we should establish a correct view of the subject of the revolution and further strengthen the unity of the leader, the party and the masses.

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## ECONOMIC

### Construction of Kwangbok Street Speeding Up *SK041010 Pyongyang KCNA in English* 1004 GMT 4 Feb 88

[Text] Pyongyang February 4 (KCNA)—A campaign to create a new "Pyongyang speed of construction" is going on at construction sites of Kwangbok Street and other major objects in the capital city of Pyongyang.

After overfulfilling their vast assignments in January, the builders of Kwangbok street are expediting the project through an unprecedented innovation.

Plastering and interior fitting are underway at a fast rate at the 25,000-seat football stadium, nine gymnasiums, the students and children's palace and dozens of other objects.

The builders of the athletic gymnasium have carried out 80 percent of the work of construction planned. The plasterers of the tourist hotel are doing their job well over a space of more than 100,000 square metres.

Innovation is also reported at the construction sites of high-rise buildings for 25,000 families. Apartment houses for more than 10,000 families were assembled last year. The builders are speeding up the assembling and more than doubling the work efficiency in the building of inside walls and in plastering.

Efforts are being made to complete the construction of the Nungnado stadium, one of the major projects, by September 9 this year, the 40th anniversary of the DPRK founding. The builders of the stadium have manufactured almost all of the arch roof trusses with a total space of 80,000 square metres and a total weight of 6,000 tons, and are assembling them and doing interior fitting in real earnest. They increased the speed of the project 1.5 times by introducing a new building method in the interior fitting of the stadium with over 700 big and small rooms.

At the construction site of the international airport, primary concrete-tamping for the runways has been finished and progress made in the laying of taxiways.

### **Tae'an Work System Central To Collectivism**

41100037 *Pyongyang NODONG SIMNUN in Korean*  
6 Dec 87 p2

[Article by Dr Kim Chae-un: "Tae'an Work System Is Form of Economic Control Which Most Accurately Realizes Essential Demands of Socialist System"]

[Text] Our party members and workers today have high national dignity and pride which enable them to proceed with the successful construction of communism and socialism following the most accurate party line and policy. In our country, the most revolutionary and scientific party line and policy, which illuminate the future of construction of communism and socialism, are provided everywhere. Among these, the great Tae'an work system, which is a realization of our party's accurate economic management ideology and policy, takes an important position.

Comrade Kim Chong-il, secretary, member of Standing Committee of Political Bureau of the party Central Committee indicated as follows.

"The task of controlling and managing factories and enterprises in accordance with the essential demands of the socialist system was brilliantly achieved through the establishment of the Tae'an work system by our great leader. The Tae'an work system is indeed the most superior enterprise management system which realizes our party's *chuche* ideology."

The Tae'an work system, which is a superior enterprise management system, makes possible the most scientific and rational economic management in accordance with the essential needs of a socialist system.

The reason why the Tae'an work system is the most accurate and superior economic management system which is suitable to the inevitable need for the construction of socialism and communism lies in the fact that it thoroughly integrates the principle of collectivism into the economic management system.

Generally speaking, there exists an inseparable relationship of linkage between a social system and its method of control and management. A socialist system, which differs fundamentally from the old exploitative social system, requires a fundamentally different method of economic control and management from method used under the previous social system.

A socialist system is one in which the working people, freed from various forms of exploitation and oppression, set up one immortal socio-political living entity, stay in the same boat and enjoy an autonomous and creative life. This illustrates that the socialist system is a totally new social system distinguished fundamentally from the capitalist society based on individualism, which puts individual needs and benefits ahead of everything. This essential characteristic of socialist society requires the

establishment of economic management system which can guarantee autonomous and creative economic activity for working people in the economic management sector.

Collectivism can be said to be the essence of socialism and communism. A socialist and communist society is a social system which is a socio-political living entity centered around a leader, based on collectivism which puts the needs and benefits of the social masses first. In a socialist, communist society, not only is it impossible to mention any social relationship which departs from the demand of collectivism such as "one for all, all for one," but also any form of social activity that goes against the principle of collectivism. Therefore, the economic activity of socialist workers should be organized and directed under the principle of collectivism. Only then can the economic activity of working people be suitable to the autonomous and creative nature of human beings, thus resulting in autonomous and creative economic activities, the further firm development of the already established advanced social system, and in a strong acceleration of the construction of socialism and communism.

Since the Tae'an work system thoroughly materializes the collective principle, it makes possible the smooth realization of the collective principle in economic management.

That is firmly guaranteed by the collective leadership system of the party committee. The collective leadership system of the party committee constitutes a basic core of the Tae'an work system and it makes possible the best realization of the collective principle in economic management. When a factory is controlled and managed under the one-manager-management system, decision-making concerning various tasks related to business management is handled by one manager, so that the vast majority of people participating in production can only insufficiently take part in the tasks of control and management of enterprises. On the other hand, when the collective leadership of the party committee participates in the control and management of factories and enterprises, the factory party committee as the highest guidance department of its unit controls and manages the economy, so that all party members, workers, technicians, and large numbers of producing people can participate in enterprise management in a manner befitting the master. The realization of the collective principle in the Tae'an work system is securely guaranteed by a system where the higher echelon helps the lower echelon. Such realization of the collective principle in the Tae'an work system, which is securely guaranteed by a system where the higher echelon helps the lower echelon, eliminates the method of dictation and command, and the method of bureaucratism in economic management, draws guidance closer to the lower echelon and makes teaching of workers in lower units by those in higher units possible. In this way, those in a higher echelon take responsibility for entangled problems in the process of production and solve them.

The Taean work system which thoroughly realizes the collective principle enables working people, who adhere to national sovereignty and hold the means of production in their hands, to firmly possess the status of masters and to smoothly execute their responsibility and role as masters in their daily economic life and in the process of practical economic activities. The task of making the broad circles of producing people the real masters of economic management cannot be achieved immediately merely by legal declaration and institutionalization of socialization of the means of production. In order for the status of working people as masters of the means of production to be substantially guaranteed the status of the master and for them to smoothly carry out their responsibility and role as masters in the process of actual daily economic activity, taking advantage of socialized means of production, there needs to be a firm work system which embodies social conditions and the collective principle in the area of economic management and can bind workers and socialized means of production together and organize and command their economic activities. The Taean work system firmly embodies such conditions in itself, thus making secure the status of workers as the masters of the economy not only in the social areas but also in the process of daily economic activities, and enabling them to smoothly execute their responsibility and role as masters and making their economic activity truly autonomous and creative.

The autonomous economic activities of workers should be correctly linked to centralized guidance. Dear comrade Kim Chong-il has illustrated that just as an individual cannot be a historical *chuche*, neither can a small group of employees from individual factories and enterprises. Under the historical conditions of our era, people constitute a *chuche* with each nation as a unit and execute revolution and construction. Economic construction should also take place under unified planning on a national scale in accordance with the people's demand and interest and the initiatives of individuals and individual units should be organically linked to centralized guidance. Only then can the economic activity of working people which takes place in each national unit be one that is suitable to the essence of a truly historic autonomous *chuche*. In the Taean work system, the collective principle puts first the demand and interest of the social group and honors it, which is combined into one sociopolitical living entity, and at the same time, equally honors the interests and initiative of the individual members and units that comprise the group, thus realizing the most smooth combination of centralized guidance and democracy. In this manner, the collective principle which serves as the life of socialism and communism and also as the basis of socialist and communist social relation is best realized in the Taean work system.

Another reason why the Taean work system is a superior economic control system befitting the essential demand of a socialist system is that it strictly adheres to its principle for all problem solving on the basis of political work and human work.

In order to make broad circles of people consciously participate in accomplishing the great cause of socialism and communism, one should proceed adhering to the basis of political work and human work. Only when political work is given a firm priority over all other work, can it allow workers to actively participate in revolution and construction by making them keep in their hearts the fact that they are inseparable members of the social group, which is composed of one sociopolitical living entity centering on the leader, and the political consciousness that they are the masters of the revolution.

It is of course necessary to work in the economic and technical areas and to correctly apply leverage through materialistic incentive in mobilizing working people into the construction of socialism and communism. However, since the method of materialistic incentives is a way of stimulating narrow economic interests of individuals, there is a limit in promoting people's enthusiasm and creativity. Unlike this, the method of strengthening political and moral incentive, which is based on political work, is based on the collective view of life, thus allowing people to offer infinite devotion and to display mass-heroism for the people and the nation and for the development and prosperity of the social group which is combined in one sociopolitical living entity. This indicates that one should proceed with adhering to political work in order to powerfully mobilize the people for communist economic construction.

In the Taean work system, the need to proceed adhering to basic political and human work is thoroughly realized. In the Taean work system, the first process in solving problems of economic control is to explain and inculcate the producing masses at an appropriate time with the revolutionary thoughts of our great leader and their realization, which are the party line and policy demanded for executing economic tasks. And by politically evaluating the work results of workers in production and control areas in a correct manner prior to evaluating them materialistically, the Taean work system has firmly institutionalized the heightening of their political consciousness in every way. In these ways, the Taean work system has firmly realized the principle of problem-solving based on political work and human work in which workers' self-consciousness as masters is encouraged, befitting the essence of a socialist and communist system. Here lies one very important basis to constantly proceed with strong adherence to the Taean work system.

The fact that the Taean work system is an economic control system consistent with the natural-law governed need for socialist and communist construction is related to the fact that it is also an economic control system with a thorough realization of scientific quality.

It is a demand arising from the fundamental nature of a socialist communist economy to realize the principle of scientific quality in economic control. A socialist communist economy is not only a *chucheized*, modern one,

but also a highly scientific one. In order to construct an economy on a high scientific level, not only the process and method of production in all sectors of people's economy should be scientifically advanced, but also economic control should be realized on a principle of scientific quality, thus placing the overall process of management activity on a high scientific foundation. In the Taean work system, such a demand has been thoroughly realized. These systems, such as the collective guidance system of the party Central Committee, a system where the people in the upper echelon help those in the lower echelon, a unified central production guidance system, and a rational production securing system, firmly guarantee that management activities will take place on a highly scientific level.

In the past, our party has firmly secured the guidance and management of the people's economy in our own way by strong adherence to and support and accomplishment of the great Taean work system which was created by our respected and beloved leader Kim Il-song, without the slightest tilting or meandering. It also made an epochal development possible by laying a more solid foundation for a socialist economic system and by accelerating the national productive capability. This is clearly proven by the unsurpassed and tested leadership of our party and the unfailing viability of the Taean work system. It is the firm will of our party to thoroughly support and defend the Taean work system whose great power has been confirmed by practice and to firmly and constantly maintain the construction of socialism and communism throughout history.

We should with pride and dignity victoriously accelerate the construction of socialism and communism by continuously and thoroughly realizing in economic control areas as is the party's wont the most accurate and superior economic control system, which is the Taean work system.

13269

**Mining Workers Increase Coal Production**  
*SK021513 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
1500 GMT 2 Feb 88

[Text] Pyongyang February 2 (KCNA)—The coal mines under the mining industry commission carried out the January assignments at 103 percent in total industrial output value, 107 percent in capital tunnelling, 118 percent in preparatory tunnelling, 107 percent in earth-scraping and 102 percent in coal production, in hearty response to the new year address of the great leader President Kim Il-song.

The coal mining industry concentrated much effort on increasing coal output while reconstructing, expanding or developing on a large scale the coal mines in the Anju and Sunchon areas and in the northern area which have large coal reserves.

As a result, the coal output in January was boosted six percent up as against the same period of last year.

The Anju coal field, a major coal producer of the country, overfulfilled the January assignments through an all-out drive for increased production, the target to produce coal this year over 1.4 times as much as that of last year. Especially, the Yongnim coal mine turned out coal in January 1.7 times as much as that in the same period last year.

The coal miners of the Sunchon district coal mining complex provided 14 more coal fields than those at the end of last year and pressed on with a drive for increased production. As a result, the coal output increased by 19 percent in January as against in the corresponding period last year.

**MINJU CHOSON Warns Japan Not To Follow U.S. 'Rashly'**

*SK031008 Pyongyang KCNA in English*  
0959 GMT 3 Feb 88

[Text] Pyongyang February 3 (KCNA)—The Japanese authorities must not act rashly following the U.S. imperialists' anti-DPRK campaign, but behave with discretion, declares MINJU CHOSON today in a commentary condemning the Japanese reactionary government for taking "sanctions" against the DPRK in connection with the KAL incident such as restriction of contact between diplomats of the DPRK and Japan, "visits" of Japanese government officials to the DPRK and the "entry" of DPRK officials into Japan.

The author of the commentary says:

It is a grave criminal act for the Japanese reactionaries to have taken the "sanctions" following the U.S. imperialists' anti-DPRK campaign. This is aimed at impairing the external authority of the DPRK and isolating internationally.

It is an unpardonable provocation insulting the sovereignty and dignity of the DPRK and an expression of their open hostile policy towards the DPRK.

The "sanctions" of the Japanese government proving its deep involvement in the anti-DPRK campaign of the U.S. imperialists and the south Korean puppets remind us of the moves taken by the Japanese reactionaries against the DPRK historically.

We cannot overlook the reckless attitude of the Japanese government to fish in troubled waters while dancing to the tune of the U.S. imperialists' anti-DPRK trumpeting and cannot but sternly warn them.

The Japanese authorities are scheming to get something by interfering in the Korean question, far from dropping their bad habit dating back to the colonial rule in the past. But it is an anachronistic delusion.

We cannot look on with folded arms at the Japanese reactionaries' anti-DPRK campaign but will counter their "sanctions" with sanctions and their "retaliation" with retaliation.

The Japanese reactionaries must discard their foolish dream of getting something from the KAL incident and give up at once the criminal anti-DPRK, anti-chongnyon [the general association of Korean residents in Japan] campaign.

Pyongyang SINMUN stresses in a commentary entitled "Japan must stop its anti-DPRK smear campaign":

The Japanese authorities must clearly know that as they took "sanctions" against the DPRK and are maliciously slandering it for no reason they will have to face our strong sanctions.

We will in no way tolerate any arbitrary acts to impair the dignity and chajusong of the DPRK and always return sanctions for the "sanctions" and retaliation for the "retaliation".

## FOREIGN RELATIONS, TRADE

### DPRK Dailies Denounce U.S. Sanctions as Despicable Act

SK270517 Pyongyang KCNA in English  
0452 GMT 27 Jan 88

[Text] Pyongyang January 27 (KCNA)—Papers here today denounce the United States for announcing "sanctions" against the DPRK on groundless charges of involvement in the KAL incident and attempting to impair the sovereignty and dignity of the DPRK, talking about "terrorist state," "restrictions of visits" and "cancellation of the lifting of the ban on contacts".

In a signed commentary headlined "shameless act of accomplice behind the scene" NODONG SINMUN says:

The U.S. announcement of "sanctions", groundlessly connecting the DPRK with the KAL incident, is a despicable act to justify the South Korean puppets' "investigation results," a sheer fabrication, encourage their anti-DPRK smear campaign and mislead world public opinion. It is a grave provocation designed to besmirch the international authority of the DPRK and push the situation on the Korean peninsula to an extreme pitch of strain and a brutal act of challenging human conscience and civilization.

The United States is playing a flute to the same tune with the puppets despite the fact that the KAL incident turned out to be, no doubt, the work of the puppets themselves.

This revealed itself that the United States was behind the KAL incident.

The United States, which should be held responsible for the KAL incident that claimed the lives of our fellow countrymen, as an accomplice in it, is now talking about "sanctions" against others like a thief crying "stop thief!" accusing the DPRK of being "a terrorist state." This is, indeed, a robber's logic reversing black into white.

The terrorist state is exactly the United States itself, not the DPRK.

The United States, whose mode of existence is aggression and plunder of other countries and whose major means of foreign policy of aggression is terrorism, engages itself in open armed intervention, sinister intrigues and subversive activities in all parts of the world. How dare the United States brand others as a "terrorist state" and clamour about "sanctions" against others!

As pointed out in the statement of a spokesman for the foreign ministry, from the historical point of view and in view of the recent KAL incident, the DPRK has suffered due to the U.S. and retains the right to take even severer steps than sanctions against the U.S.

In the spokesman's statement our republic declared: we consider that the DPRK-U.S. relations should be improved for the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, but we have no intention to beg it of the United States. As a countermeasure to the U.S. "sanctions," from February 1, 1988 we will not contact any U.S. diplomats in international arena, not permit the people of U.S. nationality to enter our country and not have any negotiation concerning the remains of Americans. This is a quite natural and just stand and measure.

Our republic can do without the United States. Without the United States, our nation will live in peace in a reunified country.

In a signed commentary MINJU CHOSON says: The U.S. imperialists should not talk about "sanctions" but quit South Korea taking along their nuclear weapons and all other destruction weapons as well as aggressor forces as demanded by the Korean people and all other peace-loving peoples of the world, and the Japanese reactionaries, too, should give up their plan to turn Japan into a military power and their wild design to stage a comeback to South Korea and drop their policy hostile to our republic and Chongnyon.

### Kim Chong-il's Birthday Celebrated Abroad

SK041028 Pyongyang KCNA in English  
1022 GMT 4 Feb 88

[Text] Pyongyang February 4 (KCNA)—Functions are being held in foreign countries on the occasion of the birthday of the dear leader Comrade Kim Chong-il (Feb. 16, 1942).

recently a book and photo exhibition and film show were held at the normal college of Uganda, a photo exhibition and film show at the medical college in Kitega Province of Burundi and a commemorative lecture, photo exhibition and film show at district no.6 of Ouagadougou, Burkina-Faso, and at the training centre of technical personnel of Ouagadougou.

Displayed at book and photo exhibitions were immortal classical works of the great leader President Kim Il-song and works of the dear leader comrade Kim Chong-il and other books and photographs showing achievements of the Korean people in the revolution and construction.

Screened at film shows were "Korea has risen from ruins", "The west sea barrage has risen from rough sea", "The Wolmi island" and other korean films.

The acting rector of the normal college of Uganda said at the photo exhibition:

The Korean people built Korea to be a powerful country by displaying the revolutionary spirit of self-reliance. this bears witness to the justness and validity of the chuche idea and well proves the industry of the Korean people.

The Korean people owe their achievements entirely to the wise leadership of the great leader president Kim Il-song and the dear leader his excellency Kim Chong-il.

Meanwhile, the Korean documentary film "the dear leader Comrade Kim Chong-il gives on-the-spot guidance to the Pyongyang city construction" was screened in Madagascar.